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ABSTRACT

This is the sixth of eight volumes consisting of series of publications of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA), such as Notes and Essays, Research Reports, Occasional Papers, and Conference Reports. These materials provide both theory and practice in the area of non-credit adult liberal education offered by colleges and universities. This volume contains Occasional Papers, numbers 2-3, 7-12, and 31. Titles include (1) National Trends in Higher Adult Education, (2) Liberal Education for Community Clubs, (3) New Eyes for Old: The Quest for Education, (4) The Human Experience: An Experimental Program in Adult Liberal Education at Northern Illinois University, (5) Promoting High Standards of Professional Excellence, (6) Inter-Association Cooperation Reconsidered (3 papers), (7) The Case Against the Adult Dropout, (8) Significant Developments in Continuing Higher Education, and (9) Historical and Cultural Influences upon the Development of Residential Centers for Continuing Education. Understanding Group Behavior--A Discussion Guide is also provided. Each unit is based on a reading assignment and may contain a brief outline of the reading as well as problems for discussion. Questionnaires are appended. The final component of this volume is Education for Public Responsibility, a statement by Directors of the Fund for Adult Education. (YIB)

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CSLEA

Volume 6

Occasional Papers

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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Preface

In the two decades following World War II there was a surge of movement in the field of adult education. Among the exciting developments was the interest in liberal adult education which was encouraged and substantially supported by the Fund for Adult Education. The F.A.E. in return provided leadership and financial support to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The primary concern of CSLEA was to provide leadership and specific assistance by resources to colleges and universities to assist them in developing non credit programs in the area of liberal education for adults. During the period the staff initiated and often conducted many seminars and workshops. They also provided consultative services to colleges and universities as they developed programs in liberal education for adults.

Another contribution was the publication of series such as Notes & Essays, Reports, and Occasional Papers. The publications are generally accepted by educators of adults -- nationally and internationally -- as being some of the finest in terms of both theory and practice.

Many publications are now out-of-print and indeed in some cases even our copy is difficult to locate. The requests for copies of CSLEA and other statements are frequently received. Accordingly copies of these documents have been collected and compiled into several volumes. A copy of each volume is being sent to ERIC for their distribution. In this way these valuable publications may be made available to practitioners as well as researchers in adult and continuing education.

Mr. Ralph Brockett and Mrs. B. J. Vaughn have been particularly helpful and diligent in preparing these volumes.

Alexander N. Charters

May, 1980

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NEW EYES FOR OLD: THE QUEST FOR EDUCATION

RICHARD McKENNA

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

CE 027 020

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

A special series devoted to documents which, though prepared in a specific context and for a limited audience, are judged to be of such general interest that they merit wider distribution than that for which they were originally intended. They are presented in the hope that they will contribute to the more general sharing of information and opinion about questions of importance in the field of liberal education for adults.

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FOREWORD

In his preface to the original printing Chancellor W. B. Aycock wrote, "Mr. Richard McKenna's speech, 'New Eyes for Old: The Quest for Education,' was delivered on December 11, 1962, at a meeting of the Faculty Club of the University of North Carolina. The talk merits reprinting and we are pleased to do so. Mr. McKenna's experience as a student in this university demonstrates that formal education encourages rather than frustrates those who possess a creative spirit. His observations on education are worthy ones for students, faculty, administration, and the public. It is hoped that eventually Mr. McKenna will elaborate on each of the many points touched upon in this excellent speech."

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults is pleased to reprint this fascinating autobiographical comment on the liberal education of an adult.

James B. Whipple
Assistant Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

October, 1963

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I feel privileged and a bit awed to be standing here in these circumstances. I told Dr. Kunstmann that I would talk about the quest for education. When I began to marshal my thoughts on the subject they were neither as many nor as sure of themselves as I had hoped they might be. A bit of wisdom I have learned recently came to my aid. I did not get anywhere in writing until I learned only to write of matters which I knew about from direct personal experience. So I will limit my remarks to my own quest for education and the great part played in it by the University of North Carolina. That has the added virtue of reducing the complexity of the subject by a factor of about three billion, or whatever the population of the earth was at the last estimate.

For most of my life the word education has, to me, meant book learning. I understand well enough now the notion of character-formation contained in the word. But I must understand also that not one of the billions of people whom I am conveniently leaving out of this discussion has reached or will reach maturity without gaining that kind of education, no matter how deficient he may be in book learning. His whole society is his teacher and no one can play hooky from that school. Of course there is much talk about good and bad character. I am not competent to tread among those razor blades. A few years ago I was puzzled by the public dismay over the TV quiz scandals. I had not known until then that much book learning was supposed to be coupled with greater moral worth.

In my own formative years I never encountered the equivalent of Mark Hopkins; I know him best even now as a tall, glass-headed structure in San Francisco within which almost anything might happen. Yet the other end of my log was by no means untenanted. Lumberjacks and miners, old cowboys and Indian fighters, Basque sheepherders and Mexican section hands all sat there. As a boy I was drawn to old men, and to men of exotic origins. Later there were old sailors and beachcombers of a dozen nationalities and many Japanese and Chinese in Far Eastern seaports. I have forgotten most of their names. No single one of them stays in my memory as a tremendously impressive individual. Yet I am convinced that in their aggregate they would outweigh Mark Hopkins. I think men's characters are more formed by their casual daily encounters with other ordinary people, as ball bearings are brought to perfect sphericity by randomly tumbling against each other in a barrel, than by any skilled institutional machine work.

No man has to go questing after a moral education. Some kind of moral education, and commonly the most useful kind, is going to be unavoidably thrust upon him. In a course in anthropology here I was pleased and amused to learn the distinction anthropologists make between the overt and the covert value-systems of a culture. Their methodology is much older than the science which uses it. First they ask a representative sample of the people what they would do in various hypothetical situations involving choice, and they make notes of the answers. Then, saying nothing, they observe what the people actually do when they are confronted with similar real situations, and they make a different set of notes. I think in our own culture that kind of anthropological field-work is perforce begun by every child at about the age of five. When he reaches a point, if ever, where he can be once more unconscious of the discrepancy, his moral education may be said to be complete. Insofar as our society has institutionalized means of anaesthetizing the pain caused by the split in our moral personality, perhaps one might after all speak of a quest for moral education. Since I never undertook that quest, I must disqualify myself from further remarks upon it. I will talk only about book learning.

My early book learning came to me as naturally as the season in the public school of the little town in which I grew up. I did well, but I think I studied primarily only to please my teachers. I seemed able to appease my curiosity about the nature of things simply by looking at the world around me without much discrimination. Quite early I began to find a special charm in an unpeopled world, the waste of lava rock and sagebrush desert surrounding my home. I was much alone in that desert and I never felt lonely. I was often more purely happy at such times than I think I have ever been since.

For many years I felt obliged to think ill of myself and hold those memories a guilty pleasure. Then I met Thoreau and later, here at the university, I met William Wordsworth and I have been relieved of that small pain.

When I was a very young man I went to China as a United States sailor. I had no very keen regrets that my education, in the sense of supervised book learning, had ended. My modest store was still greater than that of most of the men among whom I lived. I was busy learning military life and steam engineering without the mediation of books. I learned how to be alone on a ship at sea simply by leaning on the rail and looking out to the horizon. The sea yielded me the same curious pleasure that the desert had. I found that I could wander the streets and temple courtyards of Oriental cities much as I had once lingered in the desert. A screen of strangeness stood between me and the busy human living I observed. I could be tolerated as observer without being demanded to participate. So then it seemed to me that I could and often did participate in their lives with the same strange sympathy I knew how to feel toward forms in the desert. They would feel it too. Without a word of language in common, possibly by virtue of that, we could often exchange smiles or join in laughter or make a little game with children. No human interaction has ever seemed more real to me.

That was education, but it was not book learning. In connection with book learning, I want to recount just one memory of that other sort. It is a memory that often forced itself to my attention in the years when I was learning that I would have to attend a university.

There was a little bar, run by a Japanese man and his wife, in the Wanchai district of Hong Kong. It had only two tables and six or eight chairs and it was clean and neat and orderly beyond the average of such places. I never saw anything really rowdy go on there. The unique feature of the place was a large wire cage on a shelf at one side of the room. In the cage were four white rats.

The rats were the entertainers. They were lean and hollow of flank and their eyes were a fierce red. They would prowl the straw litter in the bottom of their cage and from eyes red with hatred they would watch the sailors drinking beer at the tables. When a customer passed near their cage they would press against the bars, squeaking faintly and hoping to get a nip at him.

The sailors relished the helpless hatred of the rats. Often a man would tease them with a finger through the bars. The rats would fly around inside their cage almost like birds, in a great squeaking rage, trying to catch the teasing finger. If the man kept it up long enough, one of the rats would usually catch his finger. Then we would all laugh while the mamasan came to unclamp the rat's jaws. The rats would not bite the mamasan.

When closing time was near, around midnight, the mamasan would put an egg into the cage. I think the rats were deliberately kept starved, because I never saw any water or any other food go into the cage. The egg made the best show of all. Instantly the rats would be at it. They knew there was food inside it. But they were not able to break the egg. They would bite at it, but they could not open their jaws wide enough to get a purchase with their teeth. Their teeth would just slide off. They would all be frantic to get at it at once. The egg would disappear inside what looked like a white ball of interwoven rats. The ball of rats would roll slowly around the floor of the cage, with a constant muffled squeaking and a constant writhing pulsation of its surface.

After a while they would break the egg, and no one ever saw just how they did it. Almost always it took them half an hour or longer. On the rare occasions when they broke it in a few minutes, the sailors felt cheated.

When the egg was broken, the rats would eat it. Afterward they would not fly at a man's finger with anything like their former enthusiasm. For that reason the mamasan seldom gave them their egg until about an hour before closing time.

I did not spend as much time in bars as this particular reminiscence might seem to indicate. If for no better reason, I simply could not afford it. I found time to read many books, but seldom with the sense of consciously seeking enlightenment. I felt that I was reading for entertainment. Books were hard to come by and I found entertainment in more than one unlikely volume. Some ships had no libraries. Others had only a few western stories. I could not often afford to buy a new book. But in the thieves' market of Hong Kong I would sometimes find a few books for sale among the other junk. There was quite a good second-hand bookstore in Shanghai. And I soon learned that in the scores of cheap bookstores in Japanese cities there would usually be, far back in the rear, a few second-hand books in English.

Thus I did not lack for books, although I had to read a weirdly varied lot of them. Finding them in my trips ashore was one of my chief enjoyments. The only gripe I had was my trouble in keeping them once I had read them. Lockers for personal gear were designed to hold just the prescribed outfit of uniforms, provided that they were rolled or folded very compactly. There was no room for books. I would hide books away in crannies all over the engineering spaces the way a squirrel hides acorns. When I transferred to a new ship, I would just have to leave most of them. Now that I live ashore I will not relinquish any book and I have already had to move once to a larger house.

Very little of all that I read excited any sharply focussed intellectual curiosity in me. An exception was the frequent references one encounters to Nietzsche's statement that God is dead. That seemed to me a pretty enormous thought. I knew a beachcomber in Guam, a towering old Englishman who was said to have once been a scholar at Oxford, and I asked him about it. He confirmed the statement, but he could not explain it. He gave me a worn copy of Thus Spake Zarathustra, to which I clung through three transfers, but I never did succeed in understanding it. I did not really try very hard to understand it. I was content to read it as I did poetry, simply to enjoy the excitement and wonder it could arouse.

The turning point came for me with World War II, when I was twenty-eight years old. I had long intended to serve out my twenty years and retire in the Orient, as many men did in those old days. When I had to return to the States, with the uneasy conviction that those old days were gone forever, it was not pleasant. My future was suddenly all uncertain. I had let myself become too deeply aware of the common humanity I shared with Chinese and Japanese to force myself easily into the mental and emotional state proper to wartime. My ship came into San Francisco in March of 1942 at the time when Americans of Japanese ancestry were being dispossessed and imprisoned. The mood of the people, as I sampled it in the places where I went ashore, seemed to me almost that of a lynch mob. A few unpleasant experiences quickly taught me that it was dangerous to speak my thoughts and possibly a sin even to think them. I had to relieve my feelings with drunken mutterings to which no one listened. I ached with self-contempt and a shattering sense of opposed loyalties which I could not reconcile. I was undergoing a genuine crisis of faith and I began dimly to understand at last what Nietzsche was talking about.

I went all through the war in that state. Thinking back to it now, I am reminded of a verse from Kipling:

It is not learning, grace nor gear,
Nor easy meat and drink,
But bitter pinch of pain and fear
Which makes creation think.

For it was then for the first time in my life that I began to think, deliberately to think, as clearly and as coldly as I could. For the first time I began to read books in clear, conscious pursuit of the thought in them. I was no longer seeking entertainment only, but information and the hope of a way out of pain. I would no longer skip over a difficult passage after a brief puzzlement. I would worry at it for an hour and only leave it undigested, if I had to, with a sense of baffled defeat. I was gaining an entirely new conception of the nature of books and the way a man must read them.

The time was propitious for that change in my bent. The men around me were a cross-section of civilian America temporarily in uniform and there was always someone with whom I could discuss ideas. With my modest share of wartime prosperity I could buy any book that I wanted. The paper-bound armed forces editions began coming aboard ship. Few of them were froth and many were very solid books indeed. I had never before read so many books of worth and substance, one after another. And one of those armed forces paperbacks, I thought privately at the time, almost literally saved my life. Now I think a more accurate word would be salvaged.

That book was Thoreau's Walden. I know it has long meant much to many people. But I doubt whether it has often happened that Walden, or any other book, has come so providentially into the hands of a man so desperately in need of it. It showed me a middle way between trying to be a Nietzschean herdman and trying to be a Nietzschean superman and failing at both. It not only gave me back my sense of personal worth and significance, it established that sense more firmly in me than I had ever had it since I had become a man. For the first time since childhood I knew again certainly that I had a right to exist, that I really did exist. I could read Walden with the emotional response proper to poetry and at the same time understand it rationally. The book seemed to me so radically subversive that I wondered how it could be permitted aboard any ship in wartime.

Well, I will not go on about Walden. No doubt I have read many a better book when I was not so peculiarly ready to make a total response to it. Perhaps it is only possible to have a book-experience such as mine with Walden once in a lifetime and a great many other books can trigger and serve it. But for me it was Walden, and from it I shaped a new future for myself. I planned to retire from the navy to a cabin in the Nevada desert, stock it with books, and live there as simply and richly as Thoreau had lived by Walden Pond. I began accumulating books for that purpose. I went on reading books with an even stronger will to know and to understand.

And now at last I come to something I hope may be of genuine professional interest. My design was to gain a formal education, to acquaint myself with all areas of thought, simply by reading books. I kept at it year after year, I was very resolute about it, and in the end I had to acknowledge failure. I was forced to conclude that, for me at least, there was no substitute for a college education.

I met books that I could not read. I spent months on some of them. I suspected that the treasure they withheld from me was proportional in richness to the difficulty of getting at it. I would start over again and again, trying to pinpoint the precise page and then paragraph and finally the single word at which my comprehension began to fail. I would squint and scratch my head and chew my pencil. I would writhe my feet and ankles in among the rungs of my chair and sometimes I would grip a book hard enough to tear it. When the unconscious physical expression of my frustration reached that pitch I would become conscious of it and relax and laugh.

At those times I would be irresistibly reminded of the Hong Kong rats so frantic to break their egg. Once I had laughed at them and now by some trans-human justice I was in their predicament. No rats were present to laugh at me, so I laughed for them.

To begin with, I had thought a dictionary would be all the help I would need. I did not give up that notion easily. I don't know how many times I looked up the word ontology and grasped at it as futilely as the Hong Kong rats would bite at their egg. I used to go into bookstores and look up that word in every dictionary they had, vowing to buy the first one in which I could understand the definition. I never found such a dictionary.

What I did discover was the existence of a kind of vocabulary of higher order, a fundamental outfit of ideas which the writers of the books I could not read assumed their readers to possess. The ideas would appear on the printed page only as a casual reference or a literary allusion, yet a full knowledge of them was necessary in order to follow the author's argument. I began to understand it as a kind of shorthand of thought which permitted the author to convey to the initiated clearly on one page what might require fifty pages to be made clear to my more limited comprehension. It was not enough to be literate in letters; one had also to be literate in ideas. When I had learned that the hard way, I decided that I must attend a university before retiring to my desert Walden.

I knew that it would require several years but I expected it to save me a great deal of time in the long run. I meant to come out of it equipped to read and understand in a week books that might otherwise tantalize me for a month and evade me at the end of it. I meant to develop a metaphorical set of teeth and gape of jaw that could crack any egg in print.

Let me say that I found the University of North Carolina abundantly able to supply what I lacked. I can now read almost any book in English that I wish to read. In addition I can tell quite soon whether any particular book is to me worth reading. I no longer assume that anything difficult is good for me in direct proportion to its turgid impenetrability. I remember ruefully now certain almost worthless books into which I poured Herculean efforts in the old days. Those eggs were shell all the way to the center. Nothing like that can fool me now.

Thus I found the University of North Carolina able to supply what I knew I lacked. But I found here also other gains for which I had not bargained. I discovered other lacks of mine which I had not realized until I knew them being supplied me. And I now think those were the more important.

Each new thing I learned seemed to fit as a bridge between two things that I already knew. I had brought to the university a great, chaotic rat-hoard of miscellaneous information. As my studies progressed, I could appreciate how it was all being subtly rearranged into some kind of form and order. It was being made more useful and available to me and charged with renewed interest. It took me more than a year to understand clearly what was happening and then I learned the principle of the organizing scheme. I put to myself the problem of how to state in one sentence what I hoped to gain from the university. The answer was no longer that I wanted to learn how to read books. The new answer was itself a question: What is a man? The answer to that question was what I sought both from the university and from all the books I meant to read afterward.

From the moment I began my studies the appearance of the world began to alter for me. I mean that quite literally. I started the summer of 1953 with a course in physical geology. I was fascinated to learn the origin and history of land forms. The many slow processes that were shaping the face of the earth all around me, hitherto unknown and unnoticed, caught my eye everywhere I walked. There was a granite boulder in front of Battle Dorm that was a perfect example of spheroidal weathering. I passed it every morning and nodded to it. Sometimes, walking home up Franklin Street in a heavy rain, I would loiter for half an hour to watch part of the life history of a river valley in a rivulet cutting across the gravel sidewalk. In my mind I might be assisting at the creation of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Thus the simplest, most unregarded things took on a new and vital interest for me. It pleased me to see change everywhere in seeming permanence. Nothing is fixed. Nothing lasts forever. That was what those poetic symbols of permanence, the very rocks themselves, were saying in stony dumb-show. There is nothing like physical geology to stretch a man's time-sense out to the breaking point.

Almost every course I took added its own kind of increment to the process I am describing. I only have time here to mention a few of them. For instance, that same beginning summer I took English 21 and discovered Paradise Lost. We were required to read only parts of it but I read it all and some parts repeatedly. Later, in a full semester course on Milton, Paradise Lost became and remains for me one of the finest approaches to the secret of "what is a man?" that I am ever likely to find in English. But at first encounter, even with the aid of the university, I could not crack that shell.

With my first fall semester I continued geology and started botany. Botany opened for me new windows on living things. Insensibly through the years my vision had been dulled by familiarity. I looked through a microscope into the fine structure of leaves and flowers and stems. I discovered the whole world of meaningful form and color, of beauty and wonder, that lies beyond the reach of natural human vision. The cumulative experience of it sharpened my natural vision to a finer discrimination than it had ever had. What had before been a mass of unregarded green all around me as I walked became a crowding of individual forms all beautifully interrelated and full of meaning. With natural vision we see only surfaces and infer solidity. In the strangest kind of way I felt that I was learning to see in three and even in four dimensions. In the same way that I could see solidity by inference, I began almost seeing down into the piled strata of the earth, into the busy microstructure of leaves and flowers, back through time to the seed of a plant or the form of a hill a million years ago. That vision of the mind's eye fused unbidden with the natural vision and infused the whole with wonder. I thought how William Blake could see the world in a grain of sand and heaven in a wild flower and I suspected that I might have broken into that realm of poetic experience through a door not open to men until the last few generations.

Anthropology was another great breakthrough for me, this time through the screen of stereotyped familiarity hiding from me man and his works. It taught me new ways to look at familiar experiences. That was true of all that I learned in the university. In some measure, great or small, each course contributed to making all things new. It even made the past new. All of my memories cried out for reworking under a different light, one I had not known how to cast on them before. As I had begun by pestering Dr. White with questions about land forms remembered from my travels, so I ended by pestering Dr. Honigmann with my reminiscences of military life in China. For one term paper we were asked to write a brief anthropological description of our home towns. I had been so long gone from my home town that I wrote up a ship instead. I am now expanding that term paper into my second novel.

I never did expect to learn any final or complete answer to "what is a man?" I would almost instinctively have rejected any that was offered me. The nearest thing I have to an absolute conviction is the sense that man himself is neither final nor complete and never will be in all of linear time. I always knew that I would have to put together the most satisfactory master-answer that I could from my own insights and the partial answers I could learn from other men and their books. I sought as many partial answers as I could get from science, because science is not shackled to absolutes. When some seemingly fundamental principle of science requires revision the scientists are free to revise it or scrap it without the necessity of burning large numbers of helpless people. Science leaves man room to grow and to go on discovering himself.

I was graduated from the university seven years ago and I am still busy on my quest and I do not expect to complete it any time soon. One of the many partial answers I learned in the university, however, has become so important a foundation stone for me that I would like to give it specific mention here. I found it in Dr. McCurdy's course on personality. It is the concept of a man named Andras Angyal, who deserves to be better known than he is. He requires the whole of a rather difficult book to develop it fully so of course I cannot hope to present it adequately in a paragraph, but I will try.

Briefly and baldly, then, any human life from birth to death can be understood as a gestalt in time. The linear sequence of any man's experience and behavior forms a meaningful pattern, just as do the sequential notes of a musical composition. They form a mosaic distributed in time rather than in space. The arrangement is governed by the same principles as a spatial gestalt and closure can come only with death. A human life is an integrated whole which is more than the sum of its parts. But the wholeness is not achieved, nor is the final degree of integration achieved, until death. Therefore any experience, no matter how far back it seems to lie along the time-track, is not complete either. It will not be complete until the gestalt is closed and each experience making it up is given its final significance by virtue of its place in and contribution to the whole.

The individual human past is not immutable. Everything in it is still happening and will not cease to happen until the gestalt is closed. Every past experience is subject to change, as the configuration of the forming whole is changed. Each man of us is living his own personal work of art, cannot avoid doing so, cannot evade artistic responsibility for his product, because that is one of the fundamental consequences of being human.

When I first met that thought I found it a very huge one. I have since improved my grip upon it by alternate approaches through existential philosophy, but it is still the scientific formulation of it which for me affords the most conviction. It is not a new thought. I realize now that I met a form of it once in the days before I came here, in Bergson's Creative Evolution. That book was one of the eggs I could not crack. The thought is older than Bergson. It is contained in the proverb "while there's life there's hope," which no doubt goes back almost to the dawn of language. I never fully understood that proverb, simple as it is. It was just words. I know also that there are older and more traditional paths to something which at bottom is probably much the same as Angyal's concept, but I never found much conviction along those paths. All through this talk I have been describing the paths that I did find open. If I had come away from the University of North Carolina with nothing more than that one key bit of wisdom, my time and money would still have been very well spent.

Such wisdom as I have gained tells me that it would be wise if I stopped talking at this point. But I feel obliged to comment, however briefly, on the current controversy over American education. I will not be as bold as Admiral Rickover. I have already said as much as I know of my own knowledge; there is no easy and perhaps no possible substitute for a university education to forward a man along the way I wanted to go in the world. I have affirmed that for me the University of North Carolina was all that I had expected and far more. But I could not help knowing that many of the youngsters in the classes I attended were not finding it anything like the enthralling experience it was to me. I observed only those few who chanced to sit near me in class and to whom I sometimes talked. I have not thought at all deeply about what I observed and what I have to convey is no more than an impression.

Overwhelmingly, my impression was of passiveness. Some of the boys seemed dutifully to sit there expecting the professors to give them an education much as they would expect a barber to give them a haircut. Others sat braced as grimly as they might in a dentist's chair. They were finding it unpleasant, but they were going to sweat it out. Whatever the emotional tone, however, the attitude seemed predominantly passive. They were undergoing an education, not undertaking it.

What I am calling passiveness is a more subtle and deeply-founded quality than I can readily convey. Probably no adjuration from without nor anything less than the most desperate act of will from within can much relieve or change it. It seems to be a kind of fundamental life-attitude which colors all effort, no matter how great. I sometimes think it springs from a self-identity founded on thingness, on a sense of the self as object plastic to events which happen to it. There is possible another sense of the self as process, as continuous event, over which the man has a measure of control and for which he has a full measure of responsibility. Probably they are complementary aspects of something unstateable in words and too much one-sidedness either way might be regrettable. I just do not know enough to talk about it.

Even the best and most eager of the students I observed, however, seemed not to be free of what I am calling passiveness. In some measure they were all doing what was expected of them and as a reward for it they expected to receive their education gift-wrapped in a piece of parchment at graduation. They seemed to lack the full pleasure of discovering their education as they went, of living it day by day, of being lured on by the continuous, exhilarating wonder of it, knowing no greater lure than that.

In my own thinking I link that passiveness with underdeveloped imagination. I am more pessimistic than Admiral Rickover. I fear it will not be enough no matter how expertly Johnny learns to read unless he also learns to read creatively. By reading creatively, or by listening creatively to a lecture, I mean getting up the same order of spiritual sweat as the writer or lecturer. I mean trying desperately to match him stride for stride instead of assuming that it is possible to get there by riding on his back. Those who can do it already will know what I mean; no amount of verbal amplification can make it clear to those trapped too much in passiveness.

I fear also that, increasingly these days, Johnny takes his bent toward passiveness and away from imagination long before he encounters the alphabet. His toys grow more elaborate and differentiated each year, restricting the freedom of his imagination. They tend to pre-program his play. His dolls and teddy bears and monsters are becoming animated and vocal with batteries and transistors. They no longer give him even the small pleasure and reassurance of winding up a spring. The toys are threatening to become more real than the children.

Yet if he did not have such toys, any normal child could make do with a stick and a tin pot and a bundle of rags transfigured to order for any play-occasion by the unhampered power of his developing imagination. In healthy measure his toys would be his own creations. His play-worlds would be his own creations with himself in command of them instead of subject to them. Soon enough anyway the adult thing-world would close in on him. But if he had been able to play creatively, he might find it easier later in life to read and to listen and to look at the world creatively.

What I have just said springs from too insufficient base of observation to be taken at all seriously. It is the most tentative of suggestions. I have already talked myself into a position where I may be accused of wanting to shoot Santa Claus and bring American children up like starving rats. So I had better pipe down and batten my hatches.

RICHARD McKENNA

Richard McKenna lived in Mountain Home, Idaho, until he enlisted in the Navy at the age of 18 in 1931. Twenty-two years in the Navy, he served on a Yangtze River gunboat, later on a troop transport during World War II, and on a destroyer in the Korean War. He was a machinist's mate.

In 1953, at the age of 40, he retired from the Navy. He wanted to become a writer. He first wanted to prepare himself. A former commander in the Navy advised him to come to the University of North Carolina, a good place for "a man with a purpose."

McKenna took the advice, came to Chapel Hill, majored in English, enjoyed a sizeable fare of science courses, made all A's and Phi Beta Kappa, graduated in two and a half years by going to school 12 months in the year, received the bachelor of arts degree in 1956.

He was married in 1956 to Miss Eva Grice, librarian in the University, and they live on Tenney Circle in Chapel Hill. McKenna began to write science fiction in 1956 and sold short stories to Saturday Evening Post, and also to Argosy and other magazines.

The Sand Pebbles, published in January, 1963, by Harper and Row, is the Book-of-the-Month, and winner of the Harper's $10,000 prize for the best novel published by that company during the year. The novel was serialized in Saturday Evening Post. The motion picture rights have been purchased by a Hollywood corporation. Editions are also being published in Swedish and French.

THE CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS** was established in 1951 by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with universities seeking to initiate or improve programs of liberal education for adults. The purpose of the Center is "to help American higher education develop greater effectiveness and a deeper sense of responsibility for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS · NUMBER 3

LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY CLUBS

WILLIAM E. RHODE

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

A special series devoted to documents which, though prepared in a specific context and for a limited audience, are judged to be of such general interest that they merit wider distribution than that for which they were originally intended. They are presented in the hope that they will contribute to the more general sharing of information and opinion about questions of importance in the field of liberal education for adults.

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FOREWORD

In 1960 Michigan State University Oakland asked the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults to co-operate in an experiment with a program of liberal education for service clubs. Although there have been prior programs of this nature, this was an interesting proposal to make a concerted attack on the question of a university's potential for enriching the programs of service clubs. Therefore our Center welcomed the opportunity to join MSUO. This is a report of the project.

The use of service clubs as a base for liberal education is predicated on several obvious assumptions. First, many of the members need this kind of exposure and by and large they do not receive it elsewhere. Service clubs are primarily social organizations where business and professional people join together for good fellowship and for developing community service programs. Often they may not be very discriminating about luncheon speakers, accepting them as an institutionalized ceremony. It was assumed that they would welcome this variation from the "run-of-the mill" program.

Second, from the point of view of organizing liberal education for adults, service clubs provide a ready-made "student body" to whom a course can be offered. Similar courses for the public at large often have not attracted sufficient enrollment. With service clubs, however, it was expected that a particular lecture series would be given not to a single group, but to a number of clubs.

Third, from the point of view of teaching, the clubs provide a homogeneous student body. There are many advocates of heterogeneity as a means of increasing learning or of providing breadth to the experience; however, common backgrounds, interests, and values of the participants make it possible to plan a strong program, particularly one which is primarily by lectures.

Fourth, although university faculty occasionally address service clubs, usually it is on a random basis for a single appearance. MSUO proposed a series of three meetings on a single topic as a way to more effective learning.

The experiment showed that most of these assumptions were justified. There were the usual apprehensions—"they won't be interested . . . they won't pay," but these turned out to be ill-founded. A number of service clubs took advantage of the MSUO offer and in one case bought and paid for more than a single series. As expected, some of the courses were requested by more than one club. Finally, most participants were enthusiastic and believe the programs made a valuable contribution to the luncheon sessions. Club members did not want all meetings to be educational—supporting the prior assumptions—but most members indicated a desire to continue the program on an occasional basis and other clubs wanted to be included. Possibly this is the best evaluation of the experiment.

On the other hand, one pesky question remains—what did people learn? Were individuals thinking differently or acting differently? In his report, Mr. Rhode points out that faculty expressed doubts about their ability to accomplish much in such a brief period and under these circumstances. The evaluation at the end of the year appears to verify their skepticism. A few participants thought they knew a little more or saw things differently after the exposure. Most were not conscious of any change.

This is not necessarily a justification for rejecting the idea behind the program. Rather it calls for a very careful consideration of reasonable outcomes that can be expected from such an approach. The development of effective university liberal education for adults is often a problem of dealing with the limitations imposed by the adult as student. These are not limitations of inherent ability or even of interest. It may be a case of exploiting adult interests rather than the motivations of the conventional student, but the major limitation is one of time—time available for the formal "class" and for outside independent study. Teachers and scholars are inclined to despair or skepticism, insisting that nothing can be done with students who are not prepared to devote many long hours of study to a particular subject. But this is no answer to a very real responsibility of the university. In view of the social urgency, something must be done to help free individuals so that they can deal with themselves and the world around them.

At the Center we believe something can be done, not the same thing done in graduate school, but something that will bring the insights and concepts of university disciplines to intelligent adults so that they will be meaningful and useful and may lead to more intensive study. Given a limitation in time, teachers must think about restricting the scope. A course for service club members cannot be the equivalent of an offering in the graduate school, but it can deal meaningfully with serious subjects. It may call for the presentation of only one or two concepts to be used for a specific purpose such as to deal with some daily problem or to serve as a basis for further study.

One assumption, which has not been discussed, relates to the desirability of devoting university resources to this kind of program at all. Is it the task of the university to attempt education of adults in service clubs, or in other comparable social organizations found in our cities? All universities may not answer the question the same way, but MSUO has answered it in the affirmative. Nevertheless, the issue underscores the importance of clarity regarding purposes, not merely of an individual series of lectures, but of the total program. What socially desirable outcomes can be expected from this kind of a venture to justify university intervention? What is the unique contribution of the university that cannot be achieved in other ways?

The problem becomes increasingly important in view of the pressures on university resources; however, we supported the MSUO experiment because we believe that some universities can make distinctive contributions. At the same time we would insist that the difference between effective education under these circumstances and "just another program" may rest ultimately on clarity regarding objectives.

James B. Whipple
Assistant Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

Adult education, like any field of human endeavor, has its share of problems and challenges. Ask anyone who has worked in the field for even a short time. But for the growing number today who are committed to the idea of liberal education for adults one formidable task stands out above all others. It is the problem of fashioning effective programs of liberal education which will attract a significant number of adults.

Anyone who has been charged with this responsibility will recognize immediately the proportions of the problem. By and large it comes down to a matter of working with a potential audience made up primarily of adults who are short on time and long on commitments of one sort or another. The potential adult learners are able to set aside only a limited amount of time for education, and more often than not the adult, who is caught up in the traditions and pressures of our society, is likely to choose to pursue educational experiences oriented toward the specialized, professional, and vocational. Under such circumstances, it is not a simple matter to attract large numbers of adults of a community to liberal education programs.

This is the situation faced by those responsible for improving the state of the liberal arts in adult education. Unfortunately, there is no single formula of success in this endeavor, no panacea. To a large extent, the attack on this problem will have to come on a number of fronts by leaders of the movement who turn their creative energies to devising likely strategies for their own communities and publics.

However, this does not mean that such efforts and experiences should remain unshared. On the contrary, all engaged in the pursuit of effective liberal adult education programming can provide mutual assistance by pooling their ideas and experiences. In this fashion successful schemes can become the common property of all, and can serve to advance particular programs and the field of liberal adult education generally.

It is in this spirit and with this objective in mind, that this report has been written. It concerns a program sponsored jointly by the Division of Continuing Education, Michigan State University Oakland, Rochester, Michigan, and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago, Illinois. The program is entitled "Liberal Education for Community Clubs." A detailed account of this experimental venture in liberal education for adults is contained in this report. It begins by tracing the origins of the program, proceeds to explain the various steps involved in implementing the concept, and ends with a general evaluation of the operation of this particular project.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROGRAM

The germ of the idea for this particular program, which will be explained in detail in the next section, came from Durward B. Varner, Chancellor of Michigan State University Oakland. As a member of a service club, Varner was discouraged by the entertainment-type club programs with little real educational content that were the usual fare for an essentially captive-audience. At the same time, he was impressed by the opportunity regular club meetings presented for faculty members of the brand new university in the area to come before the club to present programs of a serious intellectual nature. In the Chancellor's view, such a scheme would add a refreshing and significant dimension to the normal club programming, and begin to forge a link between the university and the many community leaders in the club—important figures in the MSUO public.

Informal discussions with some of the club officers and members convinced Varner that such a program would be favorably received by his club colleagues, and, indeed, probably by other service clubs in the area. Therefore, he turned over to Dr. Lowell Eklund, Associate Dean of the University for Continuing Education at MSUO, the general responsibility for setting up a lecture program in the liberal arts for community clubs.

Eklund began by talking with Edward Miller, head of Antioch's continuing education operation, about a program Antioch had developed with the Lions Club in the community that was along the general lines of Varner's suggestion. After this discussion, Eklund formulated a specific program plan. This was drawn up as a proposal and presented to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults by Dr. Eklund in the early fall of 1960, accompanied by a request for $2,500 to defray the non-recurring planning and developmental costs associated with putting the program into effect. Negotiation by the two offices involved lead to a $2,000 grant by CSLEA to the MSUO Continuing Education office to provide financial aid in the establishment of the program in the MSUO area.

After the announcement of the award, Dr. Eklund selected a member of the regular MSUO faculty (this writer) to fill the position informally entitled "Director of the CSLEA Project." The appointment was made in September, 1960, and major responsibility for the pilot program was delegated to this person. In the early stages the major efforts were devoted to the detailed planning and development of the programming concept. Once this was accomplished, the task became primarily an administrative one involving the coordination of the efforts and resources of faculty lecturers, participating clubs, and this office to produce a significant and substantial program. In the later stages of the first-year operation, a major dimension of this person's responsibilities became the evaluation of MSUO's limited experience in this type of liberal education for adults.

A short time after the Director was appointed a number of community club presidents and program chairmen were invited to a dinner meeting at MSUO. This was in late September, 1960. The purpose of the meeting was to present the idea of a lecture series in the liberal arts for community clubs and explore the possible interest on the part of organizations in the area. The idea met with such a favorable response that the participants turned immediately to a discussion of the possible organizational principles for the proposed program.

After this warm endorsement of the idea by club representatives, the few remaining steps preliminary to the actual operation of the program were taken. Faculty members from the MSUC staff were recruited as possible lecturers on topics of their choice. Negotiations were completed with several area clubs for a lecture series. And, finally, a psychologist, Dr. David Beardslee from the MSUO faculty, was engaged to serve as a consultant in developing an interview schedule which would serve as a device for evaluating the program after it had been in operation about a year.

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROGRAM

Before turning to a summary of the actual operation of this venture in liberal education, it is necessary to spell out the major characteristics of the pilot program. This is best accomplished by emphasizing underlying assumptions, basic objectives, and operating principles.

Assumptions

The original idea for the program, and the framework for the program as finally established, were based upon a series of assumptions or premises. Basically, they were the following:

1. Liberal education, briefly defined as "education of man as man, not as moneymaker," is the most important ingredient in the continuing education of community leaders and decision-makers. Such people occupy important positions in the community decision-making system, and take the lead in molding the public opinion of their community on major issues facing man in the modern world. If leadership in human affairs is going to be wise and enlightened, these people must be continually involved in liberal education.

2. Community leaders are found in large numbers in community clubs. Such voluntary organizations are especially attractive meeting places for those who come from the higher levels of the various areas of community life—business, labor, professions, religion, communications, and education.

3. Although such community leaders are receptive to liberal education, it is difficult to get them involved in lengthy programs or courses on the college campus. Such educational activities simply demand too much time from their busy schedules and commitments.

4. A college or university has a special leadership role and responsibility in offering liberal education programs especially designed for community leaders who cannot spend a great deal of time on the campus.

Basic Objectives

Based upon these premises, the program was organized around an immediate objective. That was simply to provide club members an introduction to liberal education in a setting and format that would not demand a major sacrifice of time from their numerous activities. The long range goal, of course, was to provide an experience that would encourage the participants to engage in a continuing program of liberal education through future club meetings, self-study, or informal campus courses.

Operating Principles

In order to accomplish these objectives as effectively as possible a series of specific operating principles were established.

1. The MSUO Continuing Education office and any community club of the area that decided to participate in the program would "join hands" in setting up a lecture series (three talks by a faculty member) to explore a selected topic for the participating club. Under this cooperative arrangement, the university would assume responsibility for providing the lecturer and his reimbursement ($75.00 per series of 3 lectures) and a printed program for the particular series; the club would furnish the forum and necessary financial support.

Regarding the financial arrangement, a participating club was asked to subscribe to each program of three lectures on a per capita assessment basis. The club would submit a fee that would be the final figure reached by multiplying $1.25 by the club membership, except that no club would be required to pay more than $125 for any series. The virtue of this particular scheme, of course, was that both large and small clubs could participate on the same per-capita cost basis, and the greater fee for the large clubs would help to defray the costs of a lecture program for a club with smaller membership.

2. An MSUO professor would appear before the club at three meetings, held normally once a month or once every two weeks, and explore his chosen theme or issue. In other words, the faculty member would take over the program at three club meetings in order to provide an introduction to liberal education for the club members.

3. Two additional features designed to encourage exploration of the issue under consideration by the members were a question and answer period of five to ten minutes set aside at each of the three meetings and a suggested reading list on the printed program furnished by the university.

OPERATION OF THE PROGRAM

The "Liberal Education for Community Clubs" program began active operation in January, 1961, when the Kiwanis Club of Pontiac, Michigan, initiated a lecture series for its membership. Dr. Gerald Straka, Assistant Professor of History, MSUO, talked on the philosophical foundations of modern democracy. Following this initial venture by the Kiwanis, five additional programs were operated with various clubs in the area. One involved a second program by the Pontiac Kiwanians. In this instance, the members explored the issue of the United States and the changing United Nations with Dr. Sheldon Appleton, Assistant Professor of Political Science, MSUO. Dr. Appleton also addressed the Lions Club of Pontiac, Michigan, on the subject of the background and implications of the communist revolution in China. The Kiwanis Club of Rochester, Michigan, and the Rotary Club of Royal Oak, Michigan, also set up programs for their club members in conjunction with MSUO, and at each of these Dr. Samuel Shapiro, Assistant Professor of History, MSUO, focused on the topic of the Cuban revolution. Finally, Dr. William Kluback, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, was the lecturer in a series sponsored by the Rotary Club of Pontiac, Michigan, in which he analyzed and discussed comparative political ideologies.

During active operation of the program in the first year, the Division of Continuing Education was in communication with the national headquarters of the various local clubs involved in the joint venture. The national offices were notified by letter and accompanying descriptive materials of the lecture series in liberal education. All headquarters responded warmly to the programming concept, and endorsed the cooperative arrangement represented by the lecture series. A few of the national offices and the Michigan Kiwanis organization provided space in their publications for an announcement and description of this program.

This office also proceeded with the interviewing of club members requested by the CSLEA. The interview results are presented in a later section.

And, lastly, a systematic publicity campaign designed to relay word of the program to area clubs was undertaken. All the community club presidents and program chairmen in the territory surrounding MSUO were notified of the lecture series through personal letters. This was supplemented by press releases and news articles by some of the newspapers of the area.

EVALUATION OF THE PILOT PROGRAM

The period from January to September, 1961, was considered a pilot stage or experimental period for the general program. This was a time to test the programming concepts in order to determine which techniques or ideas were operationally valid and which ones had to be discarded. Therefore, near the end of this testing stage, a considerable amount of time was spent assessing and evaluating the first year's experience with this pioneering programming concept.

Although a limited amount of time and experience were involved in the pilot stage, it was possible to come up with a substantial number of generalizations and findings about this new adult liberal education scheme. The major conclusions are listed and discussed below. They are based on information and insights gathered from three distinct sources. The first source, and the most important one, is the reactions of club members obtained through the systematic interviewing briefly mentioned above and discussed more thoroughly below. The second source was a discussion of the past year's activities at a dinner meeting of faculty participants and representatives of participating clubs held in early June, 1961, on the MSUO campus. The third basis for the generalizations listed below are the observations and impressions of this writer gained by considerable intensive involvement in the pilot program.

Faculty Participation

Two points of major importance about the role of faculty lecturers were discovered during the first year.

In the first place, almost every person approached about joining a panel of MSUO faculty from which lecturers would be selected responded with alacrity and enthusiasm. Several motivations prompted this response. First was the commitment to liberal education as an essential and continuing aspect of the life experiences of adults. This was supplemented by the view of the faculty members that participation in the CSLEA program would provide them an excellent opportunity to work out their views on a topic or issue of direct interest to them, and to explore it with others who were equally concerned about the theme. Finally, and of no less importance, was the prospect of an attractive fee for the lecture series.

The second major finding was that the lecturers selected topics that were in almost every instance unrealistically broad in scope for the limited amount of time at their disposal—three, thirty to forty minute periods. One, for example, chose to explore the background and implications of the communist revolution in China; another selected comparative political ideologies; still another decided to analyze the Cuban revolution and American policy toward Latin America. This common failing led to a common response—the speakers were disappointed that they always felt rushed and pushed in order to cover the major points making up their projected outline.

This is an important finding that cannot be emphasized too strongly, for it points up what must be a special concern and responsibility of any adult education administrator who is anxious to develop such a program for his operation. It goes almost without saying that the success of a program of this nature depends upon the enthusiastic support and participation by faculty members. It is of critical importance, therefore, that the enthusiastic cooperation of these central figures not be dampened by severe time pressures. The prevention of this possibility is of the first order of importance, and it is exactly at this point that the central role of the administrator becomes quite apparent. The director of such a program must serve as a tactful counsellor to faculty participants, and help them lay out a topic or theme that is realistic and manageable when measured against the available time provided by the club meetings.

Reaction of Participating Clubs

Generally, the reaction of all the clubs participating in the CSLEA lecture series was a warm and enthusiastic endorsement. The program was a welcomed and refreshing change-of-pace from their normal programming features, according to club spokesmen, and the opportunity to engage in a serious education experience with a university expert in an off-campus setting was especially applauded.

On the other hand, one general negative reaction and two specific complaints were directed to the program. Most club officers contacted agreed that such a series was exciting and important, but they warned against trying to incorporate an "overdose" of serious and high-level intellectual features into the program schedule. As spokesman for the majority of members, they declared that the luncheon or dinner meeting was an avenue of escape from the pressures and tensions of the "workaday world"; it was a time for camaraderie, relaxation, and levity. It was suggested that more than two such series a year would run up against a wall of membership resistance.

The specific complaints concerned the suggested reading list and the subscription fee. Most club spokesmen described the reading list as an excellent idea. However, they felt that it fell short of its objective of encouraging club members to explore the program topic by individual reading. This shortcoming resulted from the fact that most people simply would not take time to shop for a recommended book at one of the few bookstores in the area. It was suggested that this office arrange to have copies of inexpensive paperback books or selected mimeographed reading selections focusing on the topic of the lecture series available at the first meeting. Such material could be included as part of the subscription fee or sold through individual purchases. In this manner, busy club members would find it much simpler to obtain relevant reading material, and would be more likely to do some individual exploration of the topic. This excellent suggestion was adopted as an important feature of the second year's program.

The concern about the subscription fee was that it seemed a bit high for many clubs with limited program budgets. This was certainly a fair complaint, but the issue could not be considered a simple one. Many factors had to be considered in arriving at a fee that would strike a balance between the need to provide a quality program and the desirability of participation by the greatest number of clubs as often as possible. This particular issue was the subject of substantial evaluation by the Continuing Education division, and, as described below, it was finally decided to reduce the fee for the second year.

Impact of the Program on Club Members

The matter that was the subject of fairly systematic inquiry during the first year's operation was the possible impact of a program of this nature on the participants in the various clubs. This central concern stemmed from the fact that the basic objective was to provide an experience that would: (1) influence club members to view an issue, and think about it, from an informed and rational perspective; and (2) encourage participants to follow up the series with a more intensive and extensive investigation of the particular theme or topic under investigation during the program.

The degree of success in reaching these goals could be determined best by the club members themselves. Therefore, an interviewing strategy was devised to obtain a representative sampling of participants' reactions to the program. First, a brief, relatively unstructured or "open-end" interview schedule was designed in consultation with Dr. David Beardslee. It was composed of several broad questions that could be used by the interviewer to explore, through a flexible conversational format, the general impact of a particular lecture series on the attitudes and behavior of selected club members.

The schedule began with two introductory questions, which were designed simply to break down the natural reserve of the interviewee and direct him into thinking about the program. The first item asked the respondent to explain the main points made by the lecturer that he felt were most interesting. The major ideas the person thought the lecturer was trying to get across in his three talks was the subject of the second question.

The schedule then proceeded to several items designed to explore the possible impact of the series on the club members' thinking and behavior. For example, it was assumed that if the talks were effective, the club members would discuss the ideas and issues raised in the lecture series with their family, friends, or associates. Therefore, the third question read "have you had an opportunity to discuss the ideas and issues covered in the program with your family, friends, or associates?" Questions four through six were of the same nature. They queried the respondent in terms of the degree to which he followed accounts of the topic or issue reported in the mass media before and after the lecture series; whether the talks prompted the interviewee to purchase and read any of the books on the suggested reading list; and, whether the person, as a result of the series, had given any thought to taking a non-credit evening course at MSUO focusing upon the general topic or theme of the three talks.

The seventh item in the schedule was drawn up to get some picture of the members' interest and enthusiasm for this new programming scheme. It read simply, "Did you look forward to the dinner talks, and were you anxious to attend each one if at all possible?" The schedule continued on to question eight which was designed particularly to high-light the possible impact on the listener's perspective and attitude regarding the theme or issue under consideration. The interview culminated with a question constructed to encourage the respondent to discuss any aspect of the program and any effect of the program upon him that may not have been covered in the preceding items. Designed to explore the rapport that would be hopefully developed by this point in the interview, and to take advantage of the fact that the respondent would be thinking and talking about the series at length at this point in the conversation, the question read simply, "Generally, what did you think of the program?"

This interview schedule was administered to fifteen persons from each of four clubs participating in the pilot program. The interviewees were selected by a systematic sampling technique. Experienced interviewers were then employed and the interviews were conducted over a six-week period. Subsequently the interviews were analyzed and evaluated for possible generalizations that could be extrapolated from the raw data.

Some interesting findings came out of this interviewing strategy. In the first place, it became quite clear that the lecture series were warmly endorsed by almost all the club members. They were felt to be a refreshing and enjoyable innovation in the usual program format. This was highlighted by unsolicited comments and by responses to the specific question concerning members' feelings about attendance. According to respondents' remarks, almost all looked forward to each talk and made every effort to attend each one. Indeed, many made changes in plans in order to attend. For instance, one man normally attended his club luncheon meeting on alternating weeks, but rearranged his schedule so he could hear all the lectures on the communist revolution in China. Another was on vacation, but postponed his trip plans in order to participate in the program at his service club. Similar examples of enthusiasm on the part of club members could be listed. There is little doubt that the programs provided an enjoyable experience for all.

However, a salutary effect is not necessarily an educational one. In other words, the fact that the participants enjoyed a lecture series does not mean that it produced more informed and enlightened views about the issue of the topic under discussion—the initial, short-range objective listed above. Whether the program achieved the latter goal cannot be answered with great precision from the interview data. On the other hand, some tentative generalizations are possible by looking at responses to a couple of items in the interview schedule.

A limited number did feel that the talks had little or no substantial informative value. Perhaps these were best represented by the respondent who said quite simply, "It didn't affect me." Such people were in a definite minority, however. The great majority praised the series for making them aware of a particular problem or issue, giving them facts and information which they did not previously possess, and presenting them with new perspectives or insights.

For example, one man who wrote a club bulletin, and who had occasion to poll a great many club members, reported that most felt they had gained more understanding of the issue and its complexities. Other solicited responses supported this particular characterization of the lecture series. Regarding talks on the Cuban revolution, for instance, an interviewee said that the speaker "gives you a lot to think about. He builds up knowledge; you look at problems more ways." Another person involved in a different program volunteered the comment that "I now have a different concept of U.N. activities and realize a problem of loss of U.S. strength there." Still another declared that "the program was a real awakening; I now view the problem of Red China with much more understanding."

Comments such as these, and a host of others not reported here, make it clear that the program had a significant educational impact. Obviously, the effect cannot be described as a successful plumbing of all the complexity and subtlety of a liberal arts theme. This is an irrelevant measurement; it is unrealistic to assume this could be accomplished in three relatively short talks. What was achieved, however, was a significant and noticeable change in the participants approach to a particular issue that represents progress toward this ultimate ideal. Almost all participants gained a new appreciation for the subject matter under discussion, acquired previously unknown information and facts, and achieved a more sophisticated perspective from which to view the topic. In this regard, then, the program was a marked success as a long step toward the first objective listed in the opening paragraph of this section.

The second goal established for the program was to encourage a sustained follow-up exploration of the lecture topic by club members after a particular series. The program was not nearly as successful in accomplishing this objective. None of the three indices employed to evaluate the program on this score—post-program discussion, individual readings, or interest in informal campus courses—uncovered any serious efforts devoted to such a follow-up exploration.

Many respondents said they did discuss the topic with family, friends or associates, but further probing revealed that the conversations were rather fleeting and casual. A relatively large number of people expressed a desire to obtain and read one or another of the books on the suggested reading list, but there was virtually no actual follow through on this desire.* And, finally, the limited number that voiced some interest in a non-credit course focusing on the program topic were not very convincing about solid intentions.

The core of the whole problem was lack of time. This came out in interview after interview. The members of the clubs, by and large, occupy socio-economic positions that involve great demands upon their energies and time. They are doctors, lawyers, independent business men, clergymen, middle and top management personnel, etc. Such people have a fairly heavy and onerous work schedule. Also, they are likely to have full social and civic calendars. Consequently, any sustained commitment of time for matters that appear to be of little direct relevance to their immediate concerns and interests is a serious sacrifice that only a very few are willing or able to make.

The conclusion is obvious. The liberal education program did not achieve striking success in terms of this second objective, but it is less an indictment of the lecture series than a commentary on the unrealistic nature of the goal posited for a program of this nature operating under these conditions and involving such persons.

THE SECOND YEAR'S OPERATION

The whole evaluation strategy was an invaluable part of the initial pilot program, for it highlighted the strength and weaknesses of this sort of liberal adult education for community leaders. The over-all conclusions stemming from the assessment process pointed toward a favorable response to this sort of educational scheme, and it was decided to proceed with the second year's operation. Although only a short way into the second year, the program has already met with considerable success. For instance, all of the original participating clubs have joined with the MSUO Division of Continuing Education to sponsor new series on different topics and themes. Several new clubs have also requested lecture series.

All of these clubs are taking advantage of new innovations suggested by the experience of the pilot program stage. The first concerns the fee schedule. The formula for determining the club fee for a single lecture series has been changed from $1.25 per active member to $1.00 per active member, and no club will be expected to pay more than $100 for any program. The second change was to set up a system to make available for individual purchases inexpensive paperback books or reading material relevant to the theme or topic of the series.

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*There might have been more if the material had been available at the club meeting, but in view of the serious problem of limited time discussed in the following paragraph it is unlikely that it would have made a dramatic and substantial difference for the great majority.

These innovations have met with a warm response. In the case of the first change, both the old and the new clubs feel that the reduced fee will take substantial pressure off their limited program budgets and allow them to continue to participate in this unique educational venture. All indications point to an enthusiastic acceptance of the second innovation. At each of the limited number of meetings already held during the second year's operation, many club members have taken advantage of the opportunity to purchase reading material available at the meetings. Paperback books and other reading materials have been sold in fairly large numbers.*

Two additional innovations pointed out during the pilot program have yet to be accepted by any club and incorporated into the program format. The first concerns the possibility of increasing the number of meetings for one lecture series. Experience has pointed out that any possible extension of the lecture series would be desirable. This would promote two objectives. In the first place it would provide an opportunity for a more substantial exploration of a topic or theme. Secondly, it would clear the way for some additional possible innovations that might be incorporated individually or in a package. For example, a fourth meeting during the lecture series would make it possible to include a face-to-face debate between two spokesmen with different views about a particular issue or topic under consideration. Another possible consequence would be the possibility of setting aside a fourth meeting or fifth meeting for the lecturer to answer questions from the club members after they have had an opportunity to become fairly well informed about the topic through the talks and individual reading. And, finally, increasing the number of meetings might make it possible to organize a lecture series around several specialists. For instance, an MSUO professor might introduce and explore a particular topic for two or three meetings, and then other faculty members or appropriate non-faculty experts might be called upon to address themselves to one or another aspect of the theme at a meeting.

The other proposal for a programming change which has met with a negative response so far concerns the extension of available time for the speaker at each club meeting. The lecturers normally had about thirty minutes at their disposal. In a few exceptional cases thirty-five or forty minutes were available. If they wanted to set aside ten minutes for questions from the floor this would leave only twenty to thirty minutes to try to develop a particular subject. Obviously, such a time schedule became unrealistic for a detailed exploration of any serious topic. This was a source of some dissatisfaction to the lecturers, who were keenly aware of the need for adequate time to produce an academically respectable survey and analysis.

Such severe time limitations resulted from the fact that each club continued to conduct the meeting according to the traditional pattern, which included singing and other preliminary activities, club business, and announcements. These activities consumed precious minutes—sometimes up to fifteen. It seemed that such activities might be suspended at the few lecture meetings so that a speaker could be given additional time.

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*Whether the purchasers are able to find time in their busy schedules to read through the material in a thorough manner cannot be answered conclusively at this time. The answer to this question must await further investigation.

For a number of reasons, these two proposed changes have met with a substantial amount of resistance on the part of club program chairmen and presidents. It is quite clear that the implementation of these two innovations must wait upon considerable amount of persuasion and patient counselling.

CONCLUSIONS

The MSUO program deserves especially close consideration and serious study by our adult education leaders in colleges and universities across the country. It is these people who occupy positions that serve as perhaps the best possible springboard for bringing together the basic ingredients in the programming scheme. In the first place, in carrying out their responsibilities, they are in close and continual contact with faculty members. Secondly, they occupy roles that allow them to establish good working relationships with representatives of adult organizations in their school's community. If persons in such strategic positions provided initiative and leadership, it is likely that programs similar to the one at MSUO could become a regular feature of liberal adult education in many university and college communities throughout our country.

Such a program would be a distinguished addition to other efforts directed toward meeting the challenge of providing effective liberal education for adults. Although by no means providing all the answers, it does offer an opportunity to introduce a most important segment of the adult community to serious liberal education. There is little doubt that this would be a significant contribution to the progress and prestige of the liberal adult education movement.

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS · NUMBER

Number 2

NATIONAL TRENDS IN HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION

A. A. LIVERIGHT

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

A special series devoted to documents which, though prepared in a specific context and for a limited audience, are judged to be of such general interest that they merit wider distribution than that for which they were originally intended. They are presented in the hope that they will contribute to the more general sharing of information and opinion about questions of importance in the field of liberal education for adults.

If Dean Diekhoff had asked me to talk about various straws in the wind or had suggested that I give a brief impressionistic presentation about who was doing what to whom in the field of university adult education, I might feel better qualified this evening. During the past three weeks, I have been "on the road" for liberal adult education and have observed many evidences of flux, change, unrest and transition in the field of university adult education. Some of these I would like to share with you.

Last week I attended a meeting of the Association of University Evening Colleges and observed the deans and directors setting up restrictive membership criteria, permitting only colleges and universities stressing credit work and emphasizing traditional baccalaureate programs to become members. At the same meeting, I talked to deans from Boston University, Northeastern University, Denver, and Pittsburgh, in each of which the evening college credit program is about to be taken over completely by the regular day divisions. I also talked to people from the University of California where the extension staff is worried about two things: first, the fact that all state support for extension activity may be abandoned this year or next; and second, that a faculty committee has just recommended that responsibility for credit programs be removed entirely from the Extension Division. In Seattle, at the University of Washington, another basic reorganization has just been completed whereby there has been a complete separation between the informal, non-credit activities and the formal credit extension programs—a situation where part-time adult credit programs are being taken over by the regular divisions. In other words, from all parts of the country there where indications suggesting that complacent, traditional evening college and extension activities were under heavy fire.

But let me abandon the alarums and excursions and some of the doubts and concerns which seem to beset the field right now and try, in a slightly more organized way, to suggest what appear to me to be some of the trends which characterize the field of university adult education at this moment.

The only trend that I can cite without any fear of argument or denial is that we are in a period of flux and change, sturm und drang, that we in the field, and those who have a direct relationship to the field of university adult education, are in the throes of reorganization and re-examination and in the ecstasies of soul-searching and direction-finding. But even here, let me correct myself, because, although a number of people in the field are aware of the current pressures and the important immediate needs for re-examination, many deans and directors operating evening college and extension programs still close their eyes to what is happening, and are unaware of the clouds on the horizon. As a matter of fact, some of them think that, by limiting their vision and shutting their eyes to the dramatic forces and pressures now rampant in the field, they will wish away the problems by not admitting them.

Rather than dwelling on my gripes and concerns about those deans and directors who seem to be emulating ostriches, let me dive into an attempt to suggest what, indeed, are a few of the trends which seem to be expressive of the various straws in the wind. In this connection, I would like to talk about trends which relate to: 1. Re-examination and analysis of the field; 2. Financing of the field; 3. Credit activity and programming; and 4. Informal and non-credit programming.

With reference to the first area, there is a greater climate of self-inspection and re-examination of university adult education underway than ever before. Major evidences of this spirit of re-examination are the following: The National University Extension Association is now involved in a thorough and penetrating analysis of the goals, aims, directions and desirable organization of university general extension divisions—spurred on, no doubt, by the very excellent analysis recently completed by the Agricultural Extension Service in its Scope Report. This NUEA Committee is going about the job in an energetic and thorough manner, and the preliminary report (which I have seen) will gore some sacred cows as well as set up some dramatic future directions. At the same time, the Extension Council of the Land Grant Association is involved in preparing a paper on future directions. Both of these will be discussed at meetings which begin in Washington, D. C., this week-end. The Association of University Evening Colleges at its meeting in San Francisco last week authorized its Advisory Committee—a committee made up of past presidents—to undertake a year-long study of future directions for evening colleges and to present these at their meeting in Cleveland in November 1961.

In addition to association-wide studies and surveys now underway, a number of individual universities are in the process of, or have recently completed, self-studies or surveys of their evening college, extension and adult education activities. At the University of California a faculty committee appointed by the University Senate is about to release a report which will recommend the complete abolition of credit work in the Extension Division. The University of Chicago has just completed two over-lapping studies: one a self-study financed by the Fund, and the other a study undertaken by a faculty committee appointed by ex-Chancellor Kimpton. The Faculty Committee recommended abolition of a separate adult division. The Self-Study Committee, which also had faculty representatives on it, came out for expanded activities. Net result of the Chicago study was a change in administrative structure, with a strong faculty committee setting policy and supervising all adult education activities. Time will not permit a report on the 13 other studies which are now, or have recently been, underway, but all of them appear to be taking a hard and analytical look at the adult education activities, and many of them recommend fairly drastic shifts and changes in policy or operation.

Supplementary to these various associational and institutional studies of adult education activities in universities and colleges is a major study of the role of the university in adult education which was proposed by our Center and which will get underway in January, 1961, under the direction of Fred Harrington, Vice President in Charge of Faculties at the University of Wisconsin. In proposing this study, our feeling was that it is essential that a far-reaching and searching study of the field should be undertaken by a man involved in the field of higher education but not a special pleader for adult education. We also believed such a study should be one part of a number of studies of the field of higher education, and that it should be sponsored by a foundation not immediately concerned with adult education activities in higher education. In other words, we were looking for another "Conant Study." We have been fortunate in securing Harrington and his assistant, Don McNeil, to undertake the study and are happy that the Carnegie Corporation plans to make a grant for this purpose. Also, it is hoped the report will be published in the Carnegie series on American education.

This brief resumé of the manifestations of the present posture of self-examination should suggest to you the extent to which the field is facing the future with an open mind and a searching attitude.

The second point mentioned was the financing of the field. Here a number of factors and forces are making themselves felt. First, the death of the Fund for Adult Education indicates that there is no longer a rich, if frequently unpredictable, uncle operating in the field. Regardless of your own personal reactions to the Fund (and I would imagine that they are not entirely negative in view of the Fund's interest in Cleveland College), there is no doubt but that its existence, its concern with the field, and its activity—as well as its grants—have been a force for the expansion and higher visibility of university adult education. Its demise leaves a gap in the field at this moment and, despite the rekindling of large interest on the part of the Carnegie Corporation and the splendid grants by the Ford Foundation to the University of Wisconsin and Rutgers for urban education programs, there is little likelihood that any major effort to develop the field of adult education will soon be undertaken by these foundations. At the moment one of our major tasks, therefore, is to try to stimulate other and additional foundations to invest in this aspect of higher education. It is our hope that the Harrington study may have at least some small impact in this direction.

As far as public funds are concerned at both the state and federal level, the picture is also not too bright. Although attempts have been made to secure Federal funds for both a general extension and a labor extension bill, these have as yet been totally unsuccessful. There are some incurable optimists who suggest that, because there was some mention in the Democratic platform about adult education, the sought after funds will be available. Personally I am somewhat skeptical. At the state level we are finding that increasing questions are being raised about the amount of state subsidy now going for university extension programs. The cry that "adults are in a position to, and should be expected to, pay for their education" is a widespread one. In the private colleges, similar questions are being raised about the use of regular budgetary funds or endowments for adult education. We appear to be facing an era in which—despite legitimate needs, increasing demands, and broad and frequent policy statements about the importance of continuing education—financing for such programs is dwindling and diminishing. At the same time, there is at least one hopeful straw in the wind, namely, at least one grant by the National Science Foundation for an experimental science program for adults. Although this brief mention and analysis of financing presents a dark and dim view of the future, I believe that there are a few institutions where adult education is looked upon as a basic and integral part of the educational tasks and where some regular university funds are committed to adult and continuing education. The extent to which additional endowment or public funds become available for continuing education will depend more on the quality and demonstrable value of our programs and the rationality of our plans for the future than on any beefed-up public relations or promotional program.

Despite some of the problems and difficulties in the field. I am an incurable optimist. I have the feeling that there are enough important experiments and demonstrations in programming and curriculum development so that the present soul-searching will result in a new look at possibilities and opportunities in the field, and so that the required funds will also be available.

Let us now look at the field of credit programming in the evening colleges and extension divisions. As I suggested before, a number of questions have been raised about the validity of having the evening colleges and extension divisions carry on separate credit programs for adults. Regular faculty members are concerned about second-rate education; the competition for class room space and faculty members, accompanied by increasing opportunities for night school education in junior and community colleges, all raise some questions about the place of the university in the evening credit area—despite the fact that such programs usually make money.

At the same time that these questions are being raised, we find that in some of the more important and prestigeful institutions in the country new experiments and new directions are emerging with respect to credit programs for adults. To name but a few: Columbia University, which several years ago looked with skepticism at its School of General Studies and threatened basic changes and reorganizations, is now entirely behind a new and expanded program headed up by the new Dean, Clifford Lord. He has his own faculty for the adult credit program, has just undertaken and secured faculty approval for an honors program for adults, and is interested in other kinds of experimental activities in the field of credit adult education. At Rutgers, Dean McMahon has an excellent full-time faculty responsible for the adult credit program, and he appears to be in a position to enlarge and increase this program. In the New York City schools, Brooklyn College and others have succeeded in securing additional line items to provide for regular staff in their evening adult divisions. At Harvard, Reginald Phelps, to whom I talked last week, was enthusiastic about development there. Harvard—which two years ago boasted that its Adjunct in Arts degree for adults was exactly the same as the AB degree at Harvard 50 years ago—is now involved in changing, modifying and up-dating this credit program for adults. The name of the degree has been changed to the Bachelor of Arts in Extension Studies. Requirements for the degree have been changed and acceptance of the degree for graduate study at Harvard has been reaffirmed. In addition, a number of TV courses are accepted for credit and the program is now being expanded so that it is moving off the campus, as a matter of fact, as far off as the North Pole, where the crew from one of the atomic submarines is studying several of the programs in this credit offering. The University of Cincinnati evening college—one of the largest and most secure, and in the past, one of the most traditional—is now developing several honors seminars and programs for its outstanding students.

In other words, in a number of institutions the evening college credit program is becoming stronger and more imaginative. It seems quite likely that these developments may, in the future, off-set some of the more pessimistic and negative signs already mentioned.

But even more interesting and challenging for the future are recent developments in the area of special degree programs. These are degrees which fall within the credit framework and which lead either to an Associate in the Arts or a baccalaureate degree developed especially for adults. The first of these, the Experimental Degree for adults, was developed and tested at Brooklyn College. In fact, this degree is the same as the regular undergraduate baccalaureate, but the methods for securing it are different. By equating experience with academic achievement through various area examinations and conferences with faculty members in a particular division, adults who enroll for the Experimental Degree program are given credit for certain areas of academic achievement and need not take courses in these areas. As a result, many of the well-qualified adults involved in this program are able to secure their AB in record time. Several years experience in this program suggested that, although adults could qualify and did not need to take courses in certain specialized areas, they nevertheless were lacking in some of the integrated understandings and concepts. As a result, all adults in this program must participate in three integrative seminars: one in the field of the social sciences, another in the natural sciences, and a third in the humanities. The Brooklyn experiment is now a proven success and has become an integral and continuing part of the regular Brooklyn College program. For those of you who are interested, I strongly recommend the book, Adult Experiences and College Degrees, which describes the experiment and which, just last week, was published by the Western Reserve University Press.

I have devoted some time to the Brooklyn College experiment. First, because it was one of the important projects developed under John Diekhoff at the Center, and second, because it is now beginning to have some important impact on the field as a whole in stimulating additional experimental degree programs. The University of Syracuse has already undertaken an experimental Associate in Arts degree for adults and is in its second year of experimentation. Results, in terms of student interest and registration in the program and in terms of their learning in it, indicate that it will become a regular part of the University College program at Syracuse. The University of Oklahoma has for several years been discussing the development of a special degree program for adults, a Bachelor in Liberal Studies program with an especially appointed top-level faculty committee, and I have just been informed that this program has been approved by the faculty curriculum committee at Oklahoma, that a special grant for the experimental period is in sight, that active cooperation has been secured from industry and government installations in the area, and that the program will be launched next year. In addition to Syracuse and Oklahoma, the University of Pittsburgh, New York University, Boston University, and several others are now in the initial planning stages. Underlying all of these programs is the concept that quality can be achieved not by identity with the day-time program nor merely by replicating it, but rather by cooperating with faculty in setting up a program which is of equal or greater quality, but which is especially attuned to the needs, life-cycle, and motivations of adults.

These programs seem of real significance also because they are the kinds of programs which can be offered only by colleges and universities—not by junior and community colleges, because they make maximum use of the regular faculty in planning, and also because they attract to the evening college or extension campus outstanding adults who, otherwise, would probably not associate themselves with the regular credit offerings of the adult division. In effect, although my staff frequently argues with my terminology, these are indeed honors programs for adults.

The interest in and sprouting of these programs in various parts of the country has led us at the Center to become interested in another approach to evening college programs for adults, an approach which is especially geared to placing these institutions in the forefront of the program for manpower utilization and in the center of the national search for manpower talent. Although I can hardly report this as a trend, I would like to read to you a proposal which we made last week at the AUEC Conference in this regard. Our hope is that this may become a trend during the next few years:

"May I suggest that the evening colleges can perform an important, vital and unique service in connection with the conservation of and maximum utilization of manpower in the United States and in connection with our national efforts to identify and provide further education for the talented men and women of the country. Evening colleges can, in this area make two special and unique contributions if they so desire. First, they can assist in keeping the one third of the top high school students who do not go on to college in college. By dint of an active and energetic talent search and counselling program whereby evening colleges make a conspicuous attempt to recruit such outstanding students before they graduate and to persuade them to continue their education on a part-time basis in evening colleges, it should be possible to provide continuing education for a large portion of this "lost third" of top manpower who now either never do continue or needlessly delay their education. Although a special program for this group may not fit within the regular "adult" rubric of the AUEC, nevertheless it is an area which evening colleges are uniquely fitted to perform. Closely allied to conservation of manpower through the continuing education of present high school drop-outs, would be another major national program for the identification of older adults, both men and women, who never finished their college education and who could benefit both themselves and the country by doing so at this time. Granted that such persons form the major student body of most evening colleges at the present time, nevertheless the question exists as to whether we, in the evening colleges, are doing an aggressive and imaginative job of identifying those adults in industry, the government, business, and in the home who are especially equipped and could benefit most by continuing college education.

In other words, I am suggesting that the evening colleges might more consciously, planfully and energetically attempt to identify and recruit outstanding persons who could benefit from a college education (both those now in school and those who are older), and then set up programs, methods and curricula which would permit them to secure this college education as rapidly and efficiently as is possible, and at the same time, consistent with the requirements of a sound education. To do so, it would be necessary not only to enlarge present counselling and recruiting activities and to secure cooperation from industry in identifying qualified adults, but also it would be necessary to modify and adapt present evening baccalaureate curricula, so that these talented youth and adults can accelerate their work toward a degree by advanced standing, tutorials, outside reading and special seminars. If such programs can be developed it seems likely that foundation funds might be secured for an experimental period and that as the program developed present legislation for scholarships and loans might be changed to cover part-time students of this type. It is also possible that industry might be induced to cooperate in a major way by providing scholarships as well as released time.

This kind of program, whereby the evening colleges would be attracting the top and talented students and whereby they would be making a major contribution to the maximum utilization of skilled manpower, would obviously make it possible for the evening colleges to assume an increasingly important spot both in the national image, as well as in pioneering in new educational methods which would have an impact on the regular daytime program."

Much to our gratification, the response to this suggestion was most enthusiastic. A number of institutions appear to be interested in doing further thinking and planning in this direction, and at least one foundation has indicated that it might be interested in such a program.

One final development which cuts across the credit and non-credit area is also worth reporting. That is the gradual interest in building the idea of continuing education directly into the undergraduate curriculum. Many of us believe that in the future the following objectives must be stressed and implemented in the undergraduate program: first, development of the kind of curiosity and attitudes in undergraduates, which will encourage them to continue and broaden their education; and second, learning skills of study and scholarship which will prepare them for a continuing education. We also believe that universities and colleges will increasingly develop methods and programs which will facilitate and assist this process of continuing education. We are convinced, however, that the place to begin the process of continuing education is in the undergraduate program and curriculum itself. To date, this idea seems to be applied primarily to the education of women. The University of Minnesota has just received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to experiment with such a program for its women undergraduates and graduates. This program calls for special seminars and counselling sessions with its female undergraduates, whereby the idea of continuing education and methods for continuation will be discussed and programs made for women who do not plan to go on with graduate work in the ordinary way. In addition, special seminars are being developed for graduates who have been out of school for years, but who are either interested in re-entering the labor market or want to follow some organized educational program. A similar program—with major emphasis on the development of effective and continuing counselling programs for its graduates—was conceived and proposed by Gordon Blackwell when he was President of the Women's College of North Carolina. The Commission on the Education of Women of the American Council of Education is, on a national basis, discussing and thinking about similar programs. We at the Center are now considering the advisability of sponsoring a national conference in this area in the coming year.

Closely related to these few indications of a growing interest in building concepts and plans for continuing education into the undergraduate program is the developing idea that alumni associations should become an educational as well as a fund-raising and public-relations arm of the university. At Cleveland College, of course, this idea is not a new one. The Women's Association and Livingroom Learning project is still one of the first and most important demonstrations of what can be done in educational programs for alumni. But this idea—or similar ones—appears to be spreading rapidly. The Center, in cooperation with the American Alumni Council, has just published and distributed a booklet called New Directions in Alumni Education which suggests a variety of ways in which alumni associations can, indeed, become educational in their function and activities. A number of additional colleges (prominent among them Southwestern University, Washington University, the University of Washington, the University of Wisconsin, the University of California at Los Angeles, and New York University) are in the process of developing new and important programs for alumni. Although most of these programs are at the present moment of the informal, non-credit type, nevertheless, the activation of alumni associations as educational enterprises suggests that they can also be utilized profitably to reinforce the ideas for continuing education which have been mentioned above.

This mention of the alumni programs provides a convenient and logical place for us to turn to some of the new developments in informal and non-credit education of adults. Since, however, Mr. Diekhoff covered this area so completely and expertly in his recent report to you, I will merely attempt to skim the surface. Here again are some quick impressions about what is happening.

First, we are now able to identify a natural audience for liberal education programs for adults and are thus in a position to aim our programs and our recruiting at this audience. Studies carried on of audiences involved in Great Books and World Politics programs, and of persons attending the liberal education offerings at Syracuse, Chicago, UCLA, Wisconsin, and several other institutions show a remarkable similarity in the adults who come in on their own steam for liberal education programs. Their average age is about 35. They are well up on the socio-economic scale, and the median earnings are well above national averages. More women than men are present in these programs, and considerably more couples participate than in most educational enterprises. The people who attend have been more than ordinarily interested and active in community affairs, and the large majority are college graduates with a very heavy proportion coming from the professional fields. These data about the "natural audience" for liberal adult education—which will be published soon in a CSLEA report—do not surprise us too much, but they do raise a question about goals and programs, in university adult education. Should we satisfy ourselves with this natural audience—which is undoubtedly an important, leadership, elite audience—or should universities and colleges also make special efforts to involve the adults who are harder to reach and will require greater expenditure of time, effort, and money to recruit in liberal education activities?

Data about the response of special audiences—those who do not ordinarily register on their own—to liberal education programs suggests that, once they have been identified and inveigled or seduced into attendance, they are just as enthusiastic, work just as hard, and make just as good students as do the more elite audience. Programs for union members, secretaries, farm women, Civil Service employees, teachers, and even deans and directors of evening college and extension have shown that these groups, if they can be led to the trough, are just as eager to drink from it as are those "natural" audiences we mentioned above. At the University of Chicago, what was originally a brief ten-week, one-hour-a-week program (the standard) for union officers, dealing primarily with union stewardship problems and collective bargaining, was expanded to a nine-month, three-and-a-half-hour-a-week program over ten years ago, and the content of the program was enormously enlarged and deepened. Since that time, well over three hundred union officers have participated—at least half of them continuing to a second-year program which moved into the humanities and social sciences. Last year, the Ford Foundation made a grant to the University of Chicago to initiate a two-year program for union officers, which is now underway and appears to be highly successful. Similarly, at Chicago, programs for federal executives have been developed at a deeper and more continuing level, and they, also, have been highly successful and are being expanded to other parts of the country.

These experiences—as well as the enormous spread of the idea of liberal education programs for secretaries, following the highly successful program at Vassar six years ago—suggest two important things which bode well for the expansion of university-level, liberal education programs for adults. First, the experience suggests that adults who are not the normal participants in liberal education programs, can be induced and brought into such programs if they are approached through their institutions or organizations; and second, that when they do become involved, they are just as serious students and just as enthusiastic as the college graduate in the elite group of our society. In other words, if such programs do not develop it is the fault and responsibility of the universities, not of the individuals.

Several other trends are important to notice, but time does not permit me to expand upon them. These are:

1. Educational programs for adults are beginning to build in some devices and possibilities for sequential studies and for movement in depth. It is still true that most of the informal adult programs are of the ten-week type, but increasingly, programs of a year's duration are being developed, and also, increasingly, provisions are being made for students to move from study-discussion to lecture-discussion, to regular university programs. And some are even beginning to build in provisions whereby adults can go on to study on their own, on a tutorial or guided-reading basis.

2. Some steps are being made to relate credit and non-credit offerings. The new special degree programs, as well as some others, permit adults to take the course either for credit or not. With the enlarged use of advanced standing and special examinations for degrees, this dichotomy is likely to break down even further.

3. There appears to be an increasing interest in and renaissance of arts and cultural programs both in urban areas and in rural communities. In the urban areas, a large number of art festivals are beginning to crop up and to secure great community support, for example, the Boston summer art festival, the one in Vancouver, British Columbia, and a number of others which might be cited. Along these lines, we are also finding that a few universities are increasingly making use of, and cooperating with, museums, orchestras, opera companies, and local art groups in developing community-wide programs in the arts: witness Chicago, Portland, Los Angeles, San Francisco and especially the Detroit Adventure which has been developed by Wayne State University. State extension divisions are also doing an increasingly active and high-quality job of bringing outstanding musical and dance programs to rural areas, foreshadowing the possibility of a new kind of modern Chautauqua program.

At the same time that we can be reassured and optimistic about these developments in university adult education, we should also be honest in admitting that some of the most imaginative and effective arts and cultural programs for adults are being carried on without any assistance from, or reference to, the universities—for example, the Metropolitan Museum's correspondence program in art, the *Time* and *Life* supplements on modern art, the increasingly important classical music record clubs, commercial publications in the field of humanities and history and finally in the fact of our disgust with the Westerns, we tend to forget the magnificent dance, music, drama, and political and social discussion programs which are available to us on TV.

This great activity outside of the universities should not be looked upon negatively or with regret, but, rather, we in the universities should concern ourselves with how these exciting exposures to art through the mass media can be built into truly educational experiences.

Despite the length of this paper and the time that it has taken to merely mention these trends in university adult education, I am afraid that I have been able to cover only a few of what appear to me to be the most important trends. I can only hope that I have succeeded in infecting you with some sense of the excitement and challenge which lies ahead of us in this highly fluid, amorphous, and rather disorganized field of university adult education. The final trend, which I think I can detect and which is certainly badly needed, is an almost universal striving for some sense of plan-

fulness and organization, whereby university adult education can contribute more imaginatively and effectively to the needs and crises of our time.

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS · NUMBER 8

THE HUMAN ENTERPRISE

AN EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAM IN ADULT LIBERAL EDUCATION AT NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

ROBERT M. RODNEY

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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A special series devoted to documents which, though prepared in a specific context and for a limited audience, are judged to be of such general interest that they merit wider distribution than that for which they were originally intended. They are presented in the hope that they will contribute to the more general sharing of information and opinion about questions of importance in the field of liberal education for adults.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the Second World War there has been a growing awareness that greater emphasis on more specialization is essential for a technical world, but not without unfortunate aspects—a kind of necessary evil adversely affecting the individual as a person and his ability to exercise responsibilities as a leader, teacher, or citizen. One answer has been some form of liberal education for adults. This is the traditional way to educate "the whole man," to educate for breadth and understanding which transcends the narrow limits of specialization. In academic terms a liberal education is acquired through a four-year course of study in the various arts and sciences. This is not an answer for most adults and during the past few years, there has been much interest in experiments with a variety of liberally educative experiences for mature individuals whose education and vocation are primarily specialized. This does not mean a rejection of the arts and sciences, which remain the core of most programs, but there has been a continuing search for new ways to use these disciplines so that they may serve the purposes of a liberal education for specialized adults.

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults and Northern Illinois University are two of the many institutions which have been interested in liberal education for specialists. At Northern Illinois they are particularly concerned about the liberal education of public school teachers. In practice and among their own graduate students they observed the insatiable drive for more specialization—more education or more of some other content related to the teacher's subject matter. The university and the Center agreed to cooperate in an experiment to introduce a liberally educative experience into the graduate program for teachers. It was to be a course or courses to be given for credit. Ultimately, this became the graduate seminar known as the Human Enterprise.

Planning and experimentation began in 1954 and has continued ever since. At Northern Illinois the faculty no longer considers this an experimental project because it has become a fully accepted part of the graduate program. What follows will be a report on the development of this seminar. In it the author deals with a number of theoretical and practical questions related to liberal education for specialists in general and public school teaching in particular. The report deals with four major issues: (1) the problems in planning the program and in gaining faculty interest and support for it; (2) the effectiveness of a seminar designed for teachers, for other kinds of specialists; (3) the amount of time required for an effective liberally educative experience; (4) the impact of the program on the individuals as teachers or as persons.

The author, Robert M. Rodney, is a professor of English at Northern Illinois University. He is admirably qualified to write about the Human Enterprise. He has been part of the program from the outset, serving on the planning committee as a teacher, and finally, as the director.

James B. Whipple
Assistant Director
Center for the Study of Liberal Education
for Adults

February, 1964

PLANNING THE PROGRAM

The Northern Illinois University program in liberal education for teachers began in 1957 as an off-campus, graduate-level seminar under the title "The Human Enterprise." This course is unique within the University's experience and was intended from the outset to be a radical departure from traditional approaches to liberal education. Its purpose, broadly speaking, is "to fill in the gaps, and enlarge the general education, of classroom teachers." The more specific objectives of the program would be "to relate the general education of the teacher to his or her task as an educator and to provide stimulus and, perhaps, an enduring motivation for a continuous growth in general education."

In 1954 a proposal was submitted to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.* The Center readily encouraged the project and agreed to cooperate. The university acted as the sponsoring agency, established policies and developed a curriculum for the experimental program, and provided instructional staff and extension center facilities. The staff and resources of the Center were available on a consultative basis. The specific objectives, structure, and content of the pilot course were determined by a specially appointed university committee, with the advice and approval of a larger advisory council. The council was composed of university faculty and administrators, several superintendents and principals of public schools, a supervising public school teacher, the field secretary of the Illinois Association of School Boards, and the director of the Center.

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*Many individuals contributed to the proposal and subsequently to the experiment; however, special credit belongs to John S. Benben, department of education, as the major architect for the idea, and to Dean J. Robert Hainds, graduate school, for his vigorous support.

There was a lapse of two years between acceptance of a seminar in liberal education for teachers, and the appearance of an actual course. Although this might appear to be an inordinate amount of time, a number of basic problems needed resolution. First, it was necessary to enlist faculty support. All academic departments are reluctant to admit they need fewer credit hours for teaching the minimum essentials of their specialty. Further, even granting the three credit hours for such a non-specialized course, is it possible to conduct a general course at the graduate level? Second, there were questions dealing with the development of the course itself. To obtain agreement on principles, and subsequently on the contents, required almost as much time for a single seminar as it would for an entire curriculum.

Many details of these deliberations will be discussed later. For the moment it is important to note that this was not time wasted, because the discussions had value in their own right. Some 25 persons from the faculty of 15 different academic departments and the administrative staff of Northern Illinois participated. The deliberations were a process of self-education. Further, the involvement stimulated interest in the project, and support for it, which otherwise would not have existed.

Rationale of the Program

The one unvarying factor of the Human Enterprise has been its central and controlling purpose: to liberalize (that is, to broaden) the educational background, the thinking, and the professional outlook of specialists, particularly educators; and to give them, above all, an enduring motivation for continuous growth in general education. Another, more academic and philosophic consideration played a vital part in the thinking of some members of the curriculum committee. They hoped that this kind of adult education would encourage teacher-training institutions to reinstate the earlier alliance between the arts and the sciences. In their view, higher education had too long condoned a separation of the academic disciplines. Proliferation of studies had compounded the problem within individual disciplines themselves. The Human Enterprise was an attempt to revive the humanistic ideal of the well-rounded man. For that reason, the program was predicated on the liberal arts tradition.

The committee formulated these specific objectives for their program:

To stimulate greater curiosity about man and his world;

To counteract prejudice and dogma, and encourage independent thinking and self-expression;

To enable the student to recognize intellectual potentialities within himself;

To give the student an increased understanding and appreciation of the vast body of knowledge and ideas available in the arts and sciences;

To broaden the student's mental horizons;

To arouse in the student the desire to do further independent reading and investigation;

To attempt, with the student, an integration and synthesis of the major discoveries and insights concerning the nature of man and his attempts to realize his aspirations.

These objectives were later modified. After agreement on objectives, the curriculum committee began searching for some organizing principle to unify the whole. This problem was partially solved by the controlling purpose of the program, which implicitly ruled out any studies that were specialized or vocationalized. The committee reasoned that the program could embrace only those areas of education that offered the profoundest insights into the nature and evolution of man. It was agreed that the content of the program would be drawn from the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. Obviously, however, these three areas were much too broad to be encompassed by a single one-semester or even a full year's course. What were essentials in these three areas which should be emphasized? It was decided that students in the program might gain an adequate perspective and a broader outlook on man in the modern world through brief explorations into biology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, religion, philosophy, literature, art, and music.

The problem of how to approach each of these disciplines was more difficult to resolve. The student who had had no previous exposure obviously could not cope with technicalities, certainly at the graduate level, nor would time permit him to fulfill prerequisites. A further complication was the need to correlate disciplines that operate independently of each other in conventional college programs. The solution to both problems was to exclude the purely technical from the treatment of each discipline. To this end, it was agreed that all lectures, reading, and seminar discussion would be focused on whatever insights each discipline had to offer into the nature of man and the human enterprise, with the hope that the insights of one discipline might at least complement, if not coincide with, those of another discipline.

Moving ahead to refine the problem further, the committee examined four general approaches: (1) the concepts approach, in which selected ideas are applied to various problems; (2) the problems approach, in which discussion is built around problems which participating teachers choose; (3) the topic approach, in which a series of topics are themes for exploration by the teacher in project papers; and (4) the philosophic approach, in which leading values of our society are examined.

Out of these a specific course was distilled, emphasizing a combination of the concepts and topic approaches. The Human Enterprise was organized with a broad topic format. Its various meetings were distributed over topic areas as follows: The Nature of Man: an Overview; Man and Religion; Man and Science; Man and Society; Man and Humanities; and The Free Man and the Good Life.

The basic problems of purpose, objectives, and approach having been settled, what remained seemed to be largely a matter of mechanics: questions of contents, sequence, and scheduling of the various disciplines into course phases, instructional methods, and recruitment of staff. However, many unforeseen problems later arose during the actual try-out of the program. For example, it was necessary to reduce the course to one semester. This demanded more academic blood-sweat-and-tears of its teaching staff than many larger programs in which they had been involved. Some of their problems were both unique and urgent and could not be dealt with through normal administrative procedures. The staff found that they must adapt themselves to unconventional teaching methods, and that they must subordinate themselves, individually, to the interdisciplinary purpose and structure of the course. Some of the staff discovered that it was imperative to make a synthesis of materials which seemed almost impossible to accomplish. And all of the staff had to accept an unusual demand upon their resourcefulness, their time, and their patience. Coordination of instruction among seven staff members and continuity within the course had to be provided for. Not the least of these problems, so peculiar to an experimental program, was that of countering the conservatism and occasional scepticism that (properly) inheres in the faculty mind, in order to win acceptance of the Human Enterprise as a part of the university's curriculum. These problems alone required what often seemed a disproportionate amount of time and effort from many people who were already fully engaged in teaching, research, and administrative work. Nor could the original zeal of the staff maintain itself indefinitely in face of the question: would the results of the program justify the effort? This question could not be answered, of course, until an objective evaluation could be made, several years after launching the program.

In spite of these difficulties and uncertainties, staff confidence in the project has continued throughout the first six years of the experiment. This confidence has been sustained largely by the academic enthusiasm of the individual instructor, whose missionary zeal for the cause of his discipline has proved to be the sine-qua-non of this brand of adult liberal education. Faith in the broader values and outcome of the program has had to rest on the assumption that the Human Enterprise could make a greater contribution to adult education than any other single course on campus; or that this unique educational experience would at least induce teachers, school administrators, and business-management personnel to revive earlier academic interests and resume general education.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE PROGRAM

Since 1957 the Northern Illinois experimental seminar in adult liberal education has been offered four times to in-service teachers and four times to business management personnel. The 99 teachers enrolled in the course have represented almost every major area and level of the public schools, from the elementary grades through the junior college, with a preponderance of high school teachers. Samplings of a metropolitan area have been made at Proviso Township High School and Morton Junior College in Chicago. Experimentation with the course among teachers of a smaller community has been made at Elgin Community College. In the field of business and industry, the effect of the course has been tried out on 95 upper management and junior executive personnel at Motorola, Inc., Chicago.

A number of basic changes have been made in light of practical experience. Specific objectives have been simplified. Content of the course has been frequently changed by the instructors responsible for the various phases of study; their instructional methods have varied; the disciplinary phases of the course have been modified with substitution of one discipline for another; and the general organization of the course has been drastically revised. The staff found it more effective and productive, for example, to minimize formal lecturing in favor of shorter, informal presentations interspersed with class discussion. Their experience demonstrated the impracticality of attempting an extensive coverage of any given discipline, and that focusing on the methodology, the major concepts, and the most significant contributions of each discipline was the best way to achieve their goals.

They discovered that the readings of such a course primarily served motivational purposes, so they settled on a single, highly readable text as required reading for each phase, and supplemented this by carefully selected recommended readings to draw the students beyond the confines of the course itself. To strengthen the humanities phase of the work, philosophy was eventually substituted for religion because of the controversial nature of the latter, although it was agreed that a study of comparative religion could be treated as a valuable discipline in itself. To give the course a more meaningful under-structure, the various disciplines were rearranged so that they might reflect the increasing sophistication of the human experience, beginning with biology and ending with art and music.

The staff of the Human Enterprise program foresees no ultimate structure or content for a course of this kind. Its vitality and spontaneity will depend on continuing experimentation with new materials and new methods, and refusal to confine the instructor to rigid outlines and formal syllabi. Course requirements and evaluation of students have been kept to a minimum: a series of biweekly logs kept by each student, three short essays submitted in the final week of the course, and a pre-course and end-of-the-course attitude test. Any gaps in the evaluative process are sufficiently filled by close observation of student discussion by the instructor and the coordinator.

In short, emphasis in the Northern Illinois program is on synthesis rather than analysis, integration rather than proliferation of knowledge, grasp of broad concepts rather than absorption of data, the cultivation of a well tempered mind and critical thinking, and, above all, the stimulation of curiosity about, and respect for, the arts and sciences. The instructor is encouraged to use whatever materials, methods, and unusual techniques he finds most effective to achieve these ends within the two weeks allotted to him.

The course itself is structured into seven distinct phases of the human enterprise, each phase represented by one major discipline of the liberal arts and sciences. A specialist from each discipline is brought into the course for a two-week presentation. The seven phases are preceded by an orientation session and close with a general integration session, both of which are conducted as a colloquium by several members of the staff. The latest, improved version of the course is structured as follows:

THE HUMAN ENTERPRISE
A Course in Adult Liberal Education

Session	Course Phase and Topic	Instructor
1	Orientation	Staff
	Man and Science	
2	A Cosmological View	(Biology)
3	A Biological View	(Biology)
4	A Behavioral View	(Psychology)
5	Human Motivation	(Psychology)
6	An Anthopological View	(Sociology)
7	A Sociological View	(Sociology)
	Man and Philosophy	
8	The Rational Animal	(Philosophy)
9	Reason, and the Concept of "The Good Life"	(Philosophy)
	Man and the Humanities	
10	A Humanistic View	(Literature)
11	The Poetic Experience	(Literature)

Session	Course Phase and Topic	Instructor
12	The Visual Experience	(Art)
13	Comparative Expressions in Art	(Art)
14	The World of Music	(Music)
15	Comparative Expressions in Music	(Music)
16	Integration and Prognosis	Staff

At least two other important aspects of the human enterprise have made reasonable demands for inclusion in the program: religion and technology. These, however, would have to await expansion of the program into two courses. Experience has convinced the staff that the present course cannot be further compressed within its limitations of time and human resources.

Changing Goals

The program underwent certain changes in its goals as well as its approach. The controlling purpose remained the same, but the first few try-outs of the seminar convinced the staff that the original objectives of the program involved many intangibles that would be difficult to assess. There was no ready means of identifying and measuring such factors as curiosity, intellectual potentialities, appreciation, and mental horizons.

At the suggestion of the Center, these original objectives were reduced to goals that the staff might more reasonably hope to achieve: "The specific objectives of the program are to bring the student to an increased awareness of, a better understanding of, and a higher respect for areas of learning outside of his own specialization, and to stimulate the student to pursue some of those areas independently of the course itself." The staff and its consultants agreed that all of the original objectives were still implicit in the over-all purpose of the program and should operate in varying degrees as strong motivational factors for both students and instructors; but that the program would be fully justified by the more modest accomplishment of increasing awareness, understanding, and respect, all of which could be measured by the extent to which instructors might stimulate new interests.

Evaluation of the Seminar

A continuing study of the effectiveness of the Human Enterprise was undertaken by an experimental psychologist and member of the staff, in an attempt at self-evaluation.[*] Three years after the first offering of the course, questionnaires relating to occupational and educational backgrounds, current academic interests, reading habits, spare-time activities, and attitudinal characteristics were sent to 96 former students of the course. On the basis of this survey, an evaluation questionnaire was devised and administered to all subsequent groups. This behavioral-and-attitude test has been used at the beginning and end of the course.[†] In addition to background and behavioral data, the tests are now designed to determine the student's breadth and depth of understanding of basic concepts in the liberal arts and sciences, and to reveal his attitude toward the disciplines involved in the program. The tests also give some measure of the student's social, intellectual, and esthetic judgments. The object of the evaluation study is to detect and measure any appreciable change which might occur in their attitudes, their tastes, and their critical thinking as a result of the course. Although the study has not yet produced anything to justify a final judgment of the program, the tests have indicated some appreciable changes among many of the adults who have taken the course and who have in common a vocational orientation. Most significant is the discovery that these teachers, school administrators, and engineers have shifted in their attitudes from the more conservative to the more liberal end of the spectrum. This change has been more pronounced among teachers, than among the business groups.

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[*] A. Bond Woodruff, department of psychology, Northern Illinois.

[†] It is planned to follow up this second phase of evaluation by a post-course survey of all students two or three years after they have taken the course.

Much more time and data will be needed before it can be determined to what extent, and in what respects, the Human Enterprise is realizing its primary objectives. However, the appreciative response of the students to the experience, their challenging questions and lively discussions, and their willingness to expose themselves to unfamiliar disciplines sustain their instructors' belief that the course has a positive outcome.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

The Northern Illinois experiment in adult liberal education poses certain basic questions that would confront the planners of any program as formally structured as this one. The more theoretical questions were anticipated in the planning stage, but even these could not be fully answered until long after the program was put into operation. Other, more practical, questions arose from problems that could not be foreseen. The theoretical questions surrounded two major problems in planning the program—the need for an organizing principle, and the expediency of changing goals and methods. In addition five other questions merit consideration. These issues are the subjects for this section.

Search for An Organizing Principle

Is the organizing principle of the Human Enterprise program the most effective one for integrating the liberal arts and sciences? Possibly not, but any other principle would have to be at least as unifying. The Northern Illinois program was based on the assumption that the most liberalizing experience in adult education would be an over-view of those major areas of learning that offer insights into the nature of "the whole man" and the human experience as a totality. A central concept, the Human Enterprise, was chosen as the best means of focusing on and correlating the disciplines most relevant to the whole man. Many combinations of disciplines are possible, of course, depending on the central concept chosen. Whatever the concept, it would have to offer sufficient scope and significance to embrace the arts and sciences integral to the program.

Is the concept-and-topical approach the most feasible one for a program of this kind? Again, there are other possibilities, two of which have the sanction of much usage: the philosophic approach and the problem case study approach. However, the Northern Illinois planners suspected inherent dangers in these. The philosophic approach might encourage an abstract treatment of ideas beyond the level even of adult students, and it might unduly emphasize its parent discipline at the expense of other important disciplines. The problem case study approach, on the other hand, might over-emphasize the particular at the expense of the general, thereby defeating the liberalizing purpose of the program. A purely topical approach might give such a program much diversity, but no unity. A single, underlying, and universal concept, treated in a topical fashion, promised the most reasonable assurance of integrating the liberal arts and sciences, of providing for transitions between disciplines, and of maintaining continuity throughout the program as a whole. Six years of experimentation with their course have satisfied both the planners and instructional staff that this approach is more than feasible.

Should a liberal education program for adults depend entirely on the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities for its resources? Other fields—notably the technologies, the industrial arts—might rightfully demand a hearing in a course devoted to the human enterprise. The planning committee took the position that some disciplines are inherently liberating and others, inherently vocational. While recognizing that not everyone agrees on this distinction, technical fields were excluded as less amenable to the purposes of the course. However, this decision did not rule out the possibility that such fields might be included in the program if it could be demonstrated that they contributed toward the liberalizing purposes of the course and if the Human Enterprise could be extended over two semesters.

The planning committee also had problems with religion. Originally it was incorporated into the program and offered during the first few trials, but it caused trouble. It was not subject to the same disciplinary treatments as other arts and sciences and it provoked more emotional controversy than critical thinking. Further, when the seminar was being planned there were repercussions from other academic quarters. Why not education, political science, history, and so on?

Probably the most perplexing theoretical problem in organizing this kind of program is the question: can seven different disciplines be integrated in a single course? The paradox of the problem is that a single, one-semester course would seem to offer too little time, but a series of courses would separate the disciplines and preclude any continuity. The Northern Illinois experiment has been limited to a one-semester course, and those involved in it cannot testify to the practicality of accomplishing the program and its purpose in a series of courses. Within the limits of the single course, this perennial problem of integration continues to challenge their best efforts. They have found that integration is essentially a matter of establishing certain commonalities among the various disciplines. They have discovered no single commonality underlying all of the disciplines, except for their common center of interest—man. However, certain commonalities are immediately apparent among certain groups of disciplines: structure, form, theme, imagination among the arts; the relativity of cultural mores and values in the studies of anthropology and sociology; the principle of evolution among the natural and social sciences; the scientific method employed by the physical sciences and experimental psychology; certain metaphysical concepts involved in religion and philosophy.

Students of the course are encouraged to find such commonalities, and on the basis of these an attempt at partial integration is made during brief transitions between various phases of the course. A final attempt at integration is made, along with a prognosis of the human enterprise, in the final session. These experiments lead only to tentative and inconclusive speculations for the most part, but they do compel critical thinking and an honest appraisal of the whole-man concept. Originally a major concern, the problem of integration is no longer considered of primary importance. The staff has learned that it can turn into a fruitless and even acrimonious issue, and that the cause of the program is not served by forcing the issue where commonalities are not demonstrable.

Another question arises concerning organization of the subject matter in this kind of program: Could there be a better sequence for the various disciplines that make up the phases of the course? After much experiment in rearranging their sequence, the Human Enterprise staff concluded that no absolutely rational and ultimate sequence could be devised. Given the central concept of the program and the combination of disciplines that should be brought to bear on that concept, the staff found that the most meaningful sequence was one that would lead the student from the more elemental (the cosmological, biological, and anthropological) through the more complex aspects of human experience (the sociological, psychological, and philosophical) to the more sophisticated cultural and esthetic levels (the literary and artistic). This treatment of the human enterprise as a biological/cultural/intellectual evolution has had the added advantage of a roughly chronological approach to the study of man.

In addition to the above questions surrounding the search for an organizing principle and a rationale for the program, a number of very practical questions arise. These questions concern problems of structuring, staffing, evaluation, and winning faculty support for the program, problems not too difficult to surmount but nonetheless very real.

Structuring the Course

Planners of the Northern Illinois program felt that they should not formalize the structure of their pilot course beyond establishing its objectives, its rationale, and its specific phases. Ultimately, however, certain questions had to be resolved. Sequence was flexible and would bear experimentation. The time element, though, was a vital matter and was soon recognized as the crux of the over-all problem. How could seven instructors present as many different disciplines, orient and reorient the students to each successive discipline, attempt any integration between these disciplines, and provide an over-view of the course—all within sixteen weekly sessions? Assuming that all of this could be accomplished within the limits of one semester, how should the time be apportioned? After several attempts to allot time according to the apparent scope and difficulty of various disciplines, which only resulted in frustration and a feeling of inequity among a number of staff members, the coordinator agreed to an arbitrary assignment of equal time to all instructors. The first and final sessions of the course were reserved for orientation and integration.

Is a syllabus essential to a course of this kind, or might it be a handicap? The planning committee for the Human Enterprise resorted to the usual expedient of constructing a tentative syllabus; but realizing that syllabi tend to stereotype courses and shackle instruction to preconceived formuli, they provided only a broad outline of each phase of the course, to serve as a guideline for the teaching staff. Actual content, as well as method, was left to the discretion of the individual instructor. During the first six years of the course, the staff frequently revised various parts of the syllabus, and alternating instructors changed contents of the course from one semester to another. Their practical experience demonstrated that a program of this kind must preserve flexibility in order to guarantee continuing experimentation and modification. A syllabus has best served by providing only a schedule of class sessions, the broad topics to be discussed in each session, a carefully selected list of required and recommended readings, and some provocative questions that encourage close reading of texts and promote critical thinking in group discussions.*

What kinds of readings are most appropriate to an inter-disciplinary seminar? This was another problem that each instructor had to solve for himself. A planning committee or a coordinator could not dictate the choice of texts to individuals who were authorities in their own disciplines.

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*See appendix A.

Fortunately for the Northern Illinois program, each instructor had long experience with general education. The whole staff agreed at the outset that required readings must not be so technical that they would baffle the student. Even though the seminar was to be open only to adults with college degrees, once they stepped outside their professions and major areas into other disciplines, they became laymen. On the other hand, the staff had to assume that these adults, by virtue of their training, could read and comprehend somewhat beyond the elementary level of any discipline. By mutual agreement, the instructors of the seminar have assigned readings that are not elementary, but basic. The readings, both required and recommended, have been chosen from materials that challenge a mature student and familiarize him with the full range of the discipline. He is expected to grasp fundamental concepts, whether in the natural sciences, the social sciences, or the humanities, and to be able to identify similarities of concept among related disciplines.

Staffing the Program

Staffing an interdisciplinary seminar involved certain intangibles that could not be fully assessed until the program was under way. Instructors for the Human Enterprise were at first recruited from faculty members who had been on the advisory and planning committees. Their familiarity with the purpose and objectives and their enthusiasm for its unique and experimental nature were their immediate recommendations, aside from the fact that they were well seasoned college teachers. After the course had been taught several times and its inherent pedagogical problems began to appear, certain qualifications for staff members became evident. To make a successful presentation of his own discipline in five hours of seminar meetings, it was found that a Human Enterprise teacher must have at least the following, regardless of past experience and any scholarly distinction:

Familiarity with his entire discipline.

Ability to synthesize materials far beyond the normal demands of a short course.

Willingness to compromise with particulars and expound the general.

Resourcefulness and flexibility in teaching methods.

A specialist's enthusiasm for his own field, combined with a sympathetic (not merely tolerant) attitude toward other disciplines.

A missionary zeal for the cause of liberal arts and sciences.

If the instructor has, in addition, some flair for teaching his subject matter, he can hardly fail to get an enthusiastic response from most of his students in a program such as this.

Evaluation of Students

The planners of the Northern Illinois experiment left evaluation of students to the instructional staff. Since the program was committed to offering college credit and grades in order to induce teachers to take the course in lieu of other, more conventional courses, the staff had to devise some means of evaluation that would be consistent with the program objectives. The usual expedients of tests and formal examinations would be impractical in view of the many disciplines involved. This course was designed to lead its students to certain insights and an appreciative understanding of the role of academic disciplines, rather than a mastery of knowledge or technical skills. The use of student projects and research papers would be equally inappropriate. During the first few offerings of the course, the staff experimented with the term paper requirement, but this conventional device missed the mark. The requirement that the students write a substantial discourse setting forth what they had learned about the contributions of the various disciplines to human progress opened so many avenues that they were bewildered by the enormity of the assignment. Their performances were so varied and the paper so long delayed that the staff soon abandoned this device. In place of the term paper they substituted two shorter requirements. To obtain evidence of student progress in the course, the staff asked for a series of short, informal written reports. These bi-weekly logs provided a record of accumulated ideas and insights which the student gathered during each phase of the course from his reading, from the instructor's presentations, and from class discussion. These were followed up by a number of short essays, written toward the end of the course on a number of optional topics relating to specific disciplines. Both the logs and the essays were focused on the methodology, fundamental concepts, and important contributions of the arts and sciences encompassed by the course; each instructor evaluated on a comparative basis those papers that fell within his own province. As supplementary evaluation, the coordinator of the program, who served as course moderator, closely observed student reactions and participation during class sessions, and resolved any sharp differences of evaluation at the end of the course.

Most important for this particular kind of adult liberal education, this form of evaluation reveals the relative degree of critical thinking achieved by each student. Other methods might be devised, but they would have to be adaptable to the rigorous schedule of such a course and conform to the purpose and objectives of the program.

Support from the Faculty

Winning acceptance and support from the faculty at large for this kind of program was largely a problem of explaining and convincing. Time, patience, and finding ways of cutting across departmental lines and established channels of communication, were the practical means of solving this problem. Although a limited experiment at Northern Illinois had been made several years before in correlating several fields for in-service teachers, the university had never undertaken an integration of many disciplines. The practicability of an interdisciplinary seminar, to be offered at an all-university level, had to be demonstrated before such a seminar could be sanctioned and publicized as a part of the university's curriculum.

The Human Enterprise was first offered on a purely experimental basis and by special arrangement between the university administration, the education department, English department, and social science department, and public school superintendents, with the understanding that it would provide three semester hours of graduate credit in lieu of certain courses in education, English, or social science. It continued on this basis for the first three years, without benefit of any departmental sponsorship but under the close observation of the dean of the graduate school and the specially appointed advisory council. Having established its clientele and its contribution to adult general education, and having proved its academic respectability, the course was given final approval by the advisory council. Its official recognition and status then had to await the deliberation and approval of the three curriculum committees of the colleges of liberal arts and science, fine and applied arts, and education, whose recommendations had to be considered by the graduate council and the university council, in turn. Petition for acceptance of the course met little opposition, although the best part of a year was consumed in processing the petition. A lengthy prospectus of the program had to be reinforced by an oral defense to satisfy some committees, but the coordinator was surprised and encouraged to find that the animated discussion of some committee members was provoked more by curiosity than scepticism. In the end, the colleges whose interests were involved in the program were unwilling to allow the course as a substitution for any required course in a graduate major, but they approved the Human Enterprise as an elective in any major area in which the responsible department would allow such an elective.

Length of the Seminar

How long should a seminar of this kind be? Can a single, one-semester seminar actually embrace several disciplines and provide sufficient opportunity for seven instructors to make an adequate presentation and attempt an over-all integration? Experience within the Human Enterprise program has convinced its staff that these things can be done if the controlling purpose of the program is made to operate throughout, and if its specific objectives are limited. Each instructor in the Northern Illinois experiment has sought to open a new window on the academic horizon by offering his students a succinct explanation of the basic problems, the methodology, the limitations, and the principal contributions of his own discipline. He could not possibly do so within two sessions if his criterion for adequacy were to cover the ground. Attempts to give a history of the discipline and to explore all of its ramifications have invariably failed. But by carefully selecting and synthesizing materials, by anticipating the kinds of student questions that most often arise, by modifying his presentation and his instructional methods in the light of previous experience, and by aligning himself and the students with the program's objectives, each instructor has stimulated a great deal of interest and some degree of enthusiasm among his adult students. Integration of the various disciplines with each other has had to depend upon the combined effort of the students and the staff as a whole rather than the individual instructor, but by the time the course is finished a rough mosaic representing the human enterprise has been assembled.

Close rapport within the seminar group is another matter. This is admittedly difficult to bring about in such a short time, not only because the time spent with each instructor is relatively brief, but because the college graduates enrolled in the course bring to it the usual preconception of the college instructor as a lecturer and a final authority. Nevertheless, stereotyped conceptions of student-teacher roles can be broken down quickly during the orientation and first phase of such a course. Much depends on the counseling of the coordinator and the conscious efforts of the first few instructors.

For his part, the typical college teacher, stepping out of his lecture room into a program as unorthodox as the Human Enterprise, has a natural tendency to lecture at the expense of group discussion. Several trials are often necessary before he appreciates the need to limit and compress his lectures and focus his seminar sessions on those facets of his discipline that will directly stimulate interest. As his missionary zeal mounts, he finds that dialogues rather than monologues are more productive of insight and critical thinking among the clientele of this kind of program. In spite of its multiple instruction and its structuring into seven different phases, an interdisciplinary course need not be conducted as a series of lectures. Close contact and interchange of ideas between instructor and students has proved to be a most successful way to accomplish that cross-breeding of minds and experience that is central to the whole concept of the Northern Illinois program. Although this program has been tried only on a one-semester, single-course basis, it is doubtful that better rapport could be achieved in the course simply by doubling the time.

Other than better rapport between instructor and students, what might be gained by extending this seminar through a full year? The fact is that adult education in America offers a wide variety of such programs, running from a weekend residential to a full year of full-time residence. The question has been debated frequently at Northern Illinois, especially among those who have felt frustrated by the two-session limitation imposed on them. In their thinking, certain considerations argue for a two-semester seminar. A full year would undoubtedly provide much more opportunity to integrate the various disciplines, and to explore each phase of the course in greater depth. A two-semester arrangement would have the added advantage of a division of the program into two distinct parts: one semester as a closely related combination of natural sciences, social sciences, and psychology; and the other semester as a combination of philosophy and the arts, or the traditional humanities. Neither seminar would need to be prerequisite to the other, but a stimulating experience in one would encourage the student to continue his exploration in the other. Such a concept as the Human Enterprise could hardly be complete without the disciplines of both courses. Furthermore, a two-semester program might use a greater number of arts and science faculty. The vitality of such a program requires infusions of new minds and increasing support from the faculty at large. For the moment, however, the issue of the time element remains a hypothetical one at Northern Illinois.

Adapting the Program to Other Varieties of Specialists

Could the Northern Illinois Human Enterprise seminar, originally designed as it was for public school teachers, be adapted for other specialists? This question implies a difference of educational backgrounds for the various professions, a possible difference of their basic needs, and consequently the need to modify the course as it is applied to one professional group. No categorical answer is possible, inasmuch as the Human Enterprise staff has had little experience in the effect of the program among specialists beyond its contact with teachers and school administrators. However, a partial and tentative answer to the question may be ventured, based upon the limited but practical experience of the staff, and certain assumptions.

The seminar has enrolled some public school administrators among its groups of teachers. Questionnaires have revealed that the backgrounds of most of these educational specialists, whether science teachers, physical education instructors, English teachers, or school superintendents, have been very much the same and generally reflect notable deficiencies in one or all the arts and sciences. Does this imply that teachers and administrators should be part of the same class? Our limited experience with mixed groups has suggested that the seminar might be more effective if it were applied to homogeneous groups. The presence of administrators in the same seminars with their teachers sometimes inhibits free discussion of controversial issues. More important is the probability that segregated seminars would better reveal the educational needs of administrators. In coping with the basic concepts and issues of the course, and in coming to terms with each other and the instructors, administrators and teachers draw upon somewhat different funds of experience. Course staff members have found that commonality of interests invigorates discussion in a seminar of this kind and promotes the search for commonalities among the disciplines. It is hard to persuade any group of adults to assume intellectual equality among each other if professional status intrudes. Close rapport between the students of the seminar and a certain esprit de corps, difficult to achieve in heterogeneous groups, have proved to be indispensable to the collective enterprise of all seminar groups.

Another question concerns the adaption of this kind of program to totally different specialists. At Northern Illinois we sought an answer by trying the seminar with business men. In four offerings at Motorola, Inc., the staff has confronted a large number of junior executives and persons from upper-level management. It was originally assumed that these people, all of whom had been trained as electronic engineers or as other technologists, would profit from more exposure to the humanities. A sampling of their opinion on this matter, however, indicated that their educational backgrounds included no more of certain basic sciences (biology, for example) than the backgrounds of the teachers, and even less exposure to such disciplines as psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Their active non-professional interests varied widely. It was correctly assumed that their interest potential for what the course had to offer was at least as strong as that of educators. For these reasons, no change in the course was made when it was taken to industrial groups.

At the outset, each business group was receptive to the announced purpose, objectives, and experimental nature of the program. It was soon evident that the men were not only highly trained in their profession, but had unusually critical minds. They challenged the best efforts of the staff with incisive questions during lectures and often with opposing views during seminar discussions. Their analytical approach to problems of the course was most productive within the areas of natural and social sciences, less so in the areas of philosophy, religion, and the arts. For the most part, their attitude toward esthetic matters seemed almost passive; and with few exceptions, they were noticeably cautious in revealing commitments or even attitudes concerning controversial matters in all areas. Their caution may have been due to their involvement in the business world, but the staff concluded that factors of temperament and technical training predisposed such students to accept concepts and draw conclusions only tentatively, and that a habit of scientific analysis did not serve them so well in the less familiar areas of the humanities.

At present, the staff has no reason to believe that the basic purpose and objectives of this program in adult liberal education are not equally applicable to all kinds of specialists, or that the same approach and methods cannot be used effectively, provided that the seminar groups are fairly homogeneous.

OUTCOMES OF THE PROGRAM

Can a limited program of this kind, even if it were expanded to a full year or several seminars, actually fill in major gaps in general education?

Probably no, if by major gaps is meant large bodies of knowledge and a thorough understanding of the basic principles and relationships involved in the liberal arts and sciences. Exposure to these disciplines in an interdisciplinary course is far too brief to provide the equivalent of a two- or three-year liberal education. However, even a single seminar like the Human Enterprise undoubtedly gives its students an awareness of many major areas of learning, the contributions of those areas to modern civilization, and an appreciation of the increasing interdependence of all branches of knowledge. If it is properly devised, such a seminar can stimulate each student to explore, beyond the seminar itself, one or more of the natural sciences, the social sciences, or the arts in which he has had a latent interest. Post-course testimonials, many of them unsolicited, have confirmed this outcome.

What difference does the Northern Illinois program make in its adult students as teachers, or as persons? So far as the staff has been able to observe or the evaluation study has been able to measure this factor, individual outcomes seem to vary considerably.

To answer the above question demands an answer to a further question: what kind of person, regardless of his specialization, is best qualified to benefit from this kind of adult education? Experience with many kinds of individuals within the program has demonstrated that the person who both needs and can best profit from the seminar is the kind who is intellectually and emotionally mature; who is capable of critical thinking; and who is prompted to enroll in the course by a genuine desire to broaden his interests and deepen his insights.

A desire for more college credit or professional advancement is not, in itself, sufficient motivation to sustain anyone throughout the fast-paced reading, thinking, and discussion required by the course. A high degree of self-motivation is the key to a successful outcome, as it probably is in any area of higher education. The unconventional methods and indeterminate goals of the program have required of its students the strongest of all catalysts—curiosity. The Human Enterprise staff has made the corollary discovery that non-credit students generally do as well as, and sometimes better than, students enrolled for credit. Incurious and passive students do poor work in either case.

Actual changes in student interests and activities have not been detectable or measurable within the short span of the seminar itself. If its students are induced to take a course in general science or psychology, study anthropology, debate philosophical issues with their friends, read good poetry or better fiction, develop a taste for great music, or visit art galleries, these activities are seldom evident during the course and probably begin sometimes afterward. It is hoped that the post-course surveys will confirm some such changes in the behavioral pattern. On the other hand, changes of attitude have been observable within the limits of the seminar. The pre-course and terminal objective tests have revealed appreciable differences in the intellectual and social outlook of many individuals. The Human Enterprise staff has never expected a complete transformation of attitudes, nor has it insisted that attitudinal changes in any particular direction are necessarily desirable, beyond a broader and more tolerant outlook on the whole human enterprise, and the realization that there are many more worlds than are dreamt of in any student's philosophy. No effort is made to produce either liberal or conservative minds, but a noticeable shift in individual attitudes from the more conservative end of the continuum toward at least a more moderate position has encouraged the staff to believe that their students become more receptive to concepts and points of view that were totally strange or antithetical to their own.

A program of this kind cannot provide a liberal education in itself, but it does open many doors to areas from which the professional adult has been restricted by over-specialization. To this extent, at least, the Human Enterprise seminar at Northern Illinois serves as an adult education core around which, it is hoped, a larger program of liberal courses might be developed.

APPENDIX A

The content of the Human Enterprise seminar is indicated by the following table, abstracted from the course syllabus:

Course Phase	Topics	Readings
Orientation	Over-View of the Arts and Sciences	
A Cosmological and Biological View	Science as a Human Enterprise The Nature of the Universe The Origin of Life The Evolution of Organisms Man: His Place and Prospects	Berrill, You and the Universe Hoyle, Frontiers of Astronomy Huxley, Evolution in Action
A Psychological View	The Development of Psychology Problems in the Field of Psychology Methods of Psychology Various Approaches to the Problem of "Motivation"	Sargent, Great Psychologists
An Anthropological and Sociological View	The Uniqueness of Man and Culture Social Interaction, Stratification, Control, and Conflict Science and Social Problems The Social Function of Religion	LaBarre, The Human Animal
A Philosophical View	The Rational (?) Animal Reason and "The Good Life" Comparative Philosophies	Plato, The Republic Russell, Unpopular Essays
A Humanistic View	The Poetic Experience Comparative Expressions in Literature The Relation of Literature to the Other Arts	Leggett, Twelve Poets Faulkner, The Bear
An Esthetic View	The Visual Experience Comparative Expressions in Art	Canady, Main Streams of Modern Art
An Esthetic View	The World of Music Materials and Technical Problems Development of Forms: Music as an Expression of Cultural Periods The Esthetics of Music	Wold and Cykler, An Introduction to Music and Art in the Western World Beethoven and Stravinsky (recordings)
Conclusions	Integration and Prognosis	

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

OCCASIONAL PAPERS · NUMBER 9

PROMOTING HIGH STANDARDS OF PROFESSIONAL EXCELLENCE

FRANCIS H. HORN

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

PREFACE

The Center considers itself fortunate to publish this stimulating paper presented by President Horn of the University of Rhode Island, at the 25th meeting of the Association of University Evening Colleges. As a former board member of the Center, an ex-dean of an evening college, the president of a major university, and as a thinker, dreamer, and doer in the field of university adult education, President Horn was "the logical choice" for making the keynote address to the Association of University Evening Colleges on its Silver Anniversary.

We must admit some feeling of hesitancy in publishing President Horn's paper, however, because of the extent to which he quotes the Center. Nevertheless, we are happy to publish this paper because of its stimulating, controversial, and we believe, important message.

A good friend of ours and one of the outstanding evening college deans, Ernest McMahon, may have been set up as somewhat of a "straw man" by President Horn. "Fran" Horn quotes "Ernie" McMahon accurately but he does not take sufficient cognizance of the fact that Dean McMahon, in addition to operating a highly respectable and traditional evening college, also conducts a most imaginative and experimental program of non-credit continuing education much along the lines recommended by Horn.

The issue, as presented in this publication, therefore, becomes more one of whether the traditional credit (evening college, in McMahon's terms) should be entirely separate from the noncredit program, or whether the two should be operated in the same unit.

We regret that President Horn is no longer an evening college dean and that he has, to some extent, left the field. We can only wish that more college and university presidents would subscribe to his basic and abiding belief in the importance of continuing education. In closing, we thank the AUEC for providing a platform for a man whom they knew would present a stimulating and controversial paper.

A. A. Liveright, Director
Center for the Study of Liberal Education
for Adults

April, 1964

PROMOTING HIGH STANDARDS OF PROFESSIONAL EXCELLENCE

by

Francis H. Horn*

I trust that I am accepted in the Association of University Evening Colleges as an old friend; that I am not regarded as just one more university president sounding off about the role of the evening college. Not only am I a former evening college dean, I am an evening college man at heart, with a firm commitment to evening college work. As I look back upon my four years as an evening college dean, it seems to me that I got more fun and satisfaction out of my job then than I have found in my jobs since. In those days, the evening college was, as John Dyer testified in his Ivory Towers in the Market Place, "a hustling, vigorous institution, not yet mature, but conscious of its potentialities and characterized by an almost religious sense of its destiny."[1] A decade later, with AUEC now celebrating a quarter century of existence, the evening college movement, flushed with success, and fattened on the several millions of Ford dollars channeled into it via the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (I was one of the three evening college deans who made the initial proposal to the Fund for Adult Education), is a little less of a crusade, and demands a little less total commitment, than it did when I was directly a part of it. Certainly it seems to me —and I acknowledge that I may be not well informed of more recent developments—the evening college has come to compromise with its detractors, has given in to university tradition and eschewed its revolutionary goals, has, in fact, settled for academic respectability and status, or tried to.

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*Keynote address at Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of Association of University Evening Colleges, Boston, Mass., October 28, 1963. Mr. Horn is President of the University of Rhode Island. The title of the address is the theme of the convention.

[1] John P. Dyer, Ivory Towers in the Market Place: The Evening College in American Education, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1956, p. 7.

This 25th convention is devoting itself to "an evaluation of AUEC itself in terms of past performance and future goals." It is designed to take a look at "The Next 25 Years." My assignment is primarily to examine and criticize the first and most important of the stated goals of the Association, to "Promote High Standards of Professional Excellence." I shall do this more in the context of the evening colleges and their work than in the narrower framework of the Association.

Let me begin by stating that I sense a prevailing philosophy of evening college work with which I am in thorough disagreement. The philosophy is best expressed by Ernest McMahon in his The Emerging Evening College. The "evening college of tomorrow," he insists, will provide "formal college work for part-time adult students" only. The blueprint for this "University College" includes the following:

"Purpose:

a. It will offer only credit courses.

b. It will not attempt to combine traditional college education and adult education.

c. The university will establish a separate agency to provide adult education services of an informal or noncredit nature as well as community service and off-campus education.

. . . .

"Standards: Its standards will be consistent with the level of excellence required elsewhere in the university.

. . . .

"Institutional Status: The evening college will have parity with "other colleges of the university."[2]

This evening college of the future will enroll students who do not seek degrees, but "there will be no auditors." All will be definitely college students, subject to the usual academic standards expected of such students, save for full-time attendance.

It appears to me that this is the philosophy of the evening college that now dominates AUEC. The 1960 meeting set up restrictive membership criteria, "permitting only colleges and universities stressing credit work and emphasizing traditional baccalaureate programs to become members."[3] The topic assigned me for today reflects this new emphasis.

It is my conviction that if the evening college continues to move in this direction, it will be failing to do a significant, indeed, in my opinion, the most significant, part of its task. It will not be fulfilling its role either in American higher education or in American democratic society. If the trend is not reversed, I believe it will result not only in the decline of the importance of the eve-

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2. Ernest E. McMahon, The Emerging Evening College, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1960, pp. 121-22.

3. A. A. Liveright, "National Trends in Higher Adult Education," Occasional Papers, Number 2, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1960, p. 1.

ning college in many universities, but also its actual demise—though not, of course, of evening or part-time study.

Obviously, there has been and continues to be great diversity in "university evening colleges." Their very names testify to this. Nomenclature, as Dyer remarked in listing different names used, is a "potpourri." McMahon correctly comments that evening colleges are "complex and unstandardized," that "the concept of a typical evening college is difficult to formulate."[4] His volume is a bold attempt to standardize it. The objective is good; the evening college needs to be more certain of its place in American higher education and of its responsibility to American society. I just don't agree with the role McMahon assigns to it and the blueprint he proposes for it, although it is obvious that numbers of the evening college deans in the AUEC do.

Everyone can agree that the "evening college exists primarily to serve the part-time student," someone whose major activity is something other than education. But such a student is not always pursuing his education in the evening. Many students do so in the late afternoon and Saturday mornings, and eventually the evening college may operate all day long as well as in the evening. If it is to serve the educational needs of housewives, of early retirees retooling for new jobs, and of older adults, it will have to extend its traditional hours of operation. It is clear, moreover, that most urban universities, whether public or private, and most state universities, are opening the doors in their day schools and colleges to more part-time students, a trend which is likely to continue and which has important implications for the future of the evening college.

The semantic difficulties which plague the concept of the evening college are complicated by other than the term "evening." "Extension" is one; our evening college at the University of Rhode Island is still called the Division of University Extension. My first address to an educational meeting after becoming dean of the evening college at Johns Hopkins, back in 1947, was a long harangue against the use of the term "extension." I am still opposed to it. Even more troublesome is the term "adult education." To me the term has always had the broadest connotation—meaning the part-time education of men and women past the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, carried on in some formal way, as distinct from their independent activities of reading, radio-listening and TV viewing, occasional attendance at lectures, etc. Such formal adult education, of course, is not confined to schools and colleges, although I believe they should play the major role in adult education. I recognize too, the complications in the definition resulting from the part-time education of older adolescents who go to an evening college immediately or after a slight interval following high school.

But to many, adult education is more restrictive. McMahon defines it as "that part of the evening college which does not offer a repetition or reasonable facsimile of the regular day courses. The adult education courses do not carry college credit and are especially designed to meet specific needs or to satisfy special interests."[5] Adult educators like Paul Sheats take an even more restrictive view, narrowing it to group-directed activities aimed at accomplishing "reasoned social change." Adult education, according to his definition "has been and must continue to be a people's movement, with its major focus in the local community and with its primary goal that of strengthening and improving the democratic process of group problem solving."[6]

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4. McMahon, op. cit., p. v.
5. Ibid., p. 29.
6. Ibid., p. 24.

Because of all the confusion, I prefer the use of a different term altogether to describe the work in which AUEC deans and directors are engaged. Instead of tying to concepts of evening, extension, adult, I think the term already used by some evening colleges should be widely adopted: —"Continuing Education—for Adults." Writing in 1955, Dyer suggested that there may be "some, as yet undiscovered, central theme or role" upon which all evening college administrators could agree.[7] I think it should be "continuing education," although my confidence in the term has been shaken by the fact that Glen Burch in his CSLEA essay defines continuing education as "intellectually demanding educational activities prepared especially for adults who have done with formal schooling."[8]

It is my contention that "continuing education" can apply both to the part-time formal and traditional educational programs that dominate current evening college work and to their informal non-credit activities. An individual is continuing his education when he studies for a master's degree in business or engineering after working hours just as much as when he participates in a Great Books or World Politics discussion group; when he takes a certificate program in real estate or insurance, as when he registers for a single credit course in Shakespeare or Soviet foreign policy. I would admit, however, that if the evening college is to follow McMahon's proposals, the term "continuing education" is not so appropriate as if the evening college also concerns itself with what he calls "adult education services of an informal or non-credit nature." I would recommend, in any case, that if this organization continue to be the "Association of University Evening Colleges," whenever this name or "AUEC" is used, it be followed by the phrase "dedicated to providing continuing education for adults."

This convention is assessing "the next 25 years" of the role and work of the evening college. The future in 1988 is rather problematical for long-range specific predictions. There will be profound changes in our society and consequently in higher education. Assuming that society will survive, however, as I do, we can be certain of the need for continuing education for all our population. And, of course, we can be certain of a vastly expanding population, resulting in a potential clientele for our evening colleges, if they are multi-purpose colleges, of staggering proportions. To provide continuing education for meeting this need is the major task of evening colleges (operating at times other than in the evening, let me emphasize again) in the years ahead. As between traditional degree work and informal non-degree work, the responsibility, the demand, and the challenge is greater with the latter. Let me suggest why this is so.

Rapid changes in technology and in the nature of job requirements resulting therefrom will require almost constant continuing formal study, regardless of the occupation. Job tenure or success in the future will depend upon keeping up with the advances being made in the particular vocational specialty, whether it is accounting or salesmanship, teaching or social work, law or medicine. At some levels, specific jobs will become obsolete, requiring complete retooling and retraining, such as we are now witnessing at unskilled or semi-skilled levels. Continuing occupational education will require a good deal of attention from evening colleges in the next quarter century.

Partly responsible for this changing technology, but in addition, affecting every aspect of life, is the rapid expansion of knowledge. In the area of the natural sciences alone, our knowledge is doubling every ten years with much of the old knowledge becoming obsolete. At the same time, new areas of knowledge are developing, as in nuclear engineering and space science. Although the humanities and fine arts are less subject to these pressures, the soecial sciences are affected by both the replacement of existing knowledge and the development of new areas of knowledge.

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[7] Dyer, op. cit., p. 30.

[8] Glen Burch, "Challenge to the University: An Inquiry into The University's Responsibility for Adult Education," Notes and Essays No. 35, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1961, p. 63.

All this change and expansion of knowledge makes for increasing complexity of contemporary life. On the one hand, it becomes more and more difficult to discharge one's responsibilities as a citizen in a free society. On the other, the pressures of modern living result in greater frustration and greater concern for answers to the eternal problems of the meaning of life and the search for individual happiness. Just consider the problems—international, political, economic, sociological—the average citizen must wrestle with in order to read the newspapers intelligently these days, or to know how he wishes his congressman to vote. The world around us is unlikely to become less complex; more and more adults will turn to schools and colleges for help in understanding it. Similarly they will seek help in understanding themselves, their relations with their families and friends, their place in society, and the meaning of existence through the study of psychology and philosophy, literature and religion.

These conditions of contemporary living which almost drive adults to turn to educational institutions for knowledge, understanding, and help, are aggravated by two other characteristics of our society which enforce the need and the desire for continuing education. These are greater leisure—and greater longevity.

That we as a people are working less is scarcely debatable. A 40-hour work-week is still normal, but a 35-hour week is not far off. It is already here for state employees in Rhode Island. This will gradually be reduced to 32 or 30 hours, by 1988 to 25 or 24. This shorter work-week increases the time available for continuing education and enforces, incidentally, the need for evening colleges to rethink their hours of operation.

Of even greater significance to the future of the evening college is the increasing life span. Living to a century will eventually be normal. Complicating this situation is the fact of earlier retirement. The retirement age is moving from 65 to 60 and undoubtedly for many will eventually be 55. The hope of a second job after retirement is a cruel hoax to hold out to the aging. It will be achieved at most by only a small per cent of retirees and eventually retirement must be faced again. It is inevitable that many, probably most persons will eventually live longer in retirement than in active employment.

The key to successful and happy retirement, to satisfying later years, is education, always assuming, of course, adequate economic security for the retiree. The golden ager must learn to center his life on cultural and intellectual interests, to develop genuine pleasure in learning. This involves continuing general or liberal education. Today, we educators must urge the necessity for life-long learning. We must indicate that while students are in school and college, they should try to develop the habits that lead to such learning. If we have any success at all, our evening colleges will be overwhelmed with students who are involved in continuing education unrelated to their occupation. Even if we educators should stop the urging, adults will increasingly feel the need for such education and will come flocking to our doors.

Knox's CSLEA report reveals that the natural audience for such continuing education of a non-vocational nature is "adults who are middle-aged, middle class, and college educated."[9] But Liveright urges that we should make "special efforts to involve the adults who are harder to reach," and points out that "data about the response of special audiences—those who do not ordinarily register on their own—to liberal education programs, suggests that, once they have been identified and inveigled or seduced into attendance, they are just as enthusiastic, work just as hard, and make just as good students as do the more elite audience."[10] Increasingly, with imaginative programs and good instruction, students of middle age and beyond interested in non-vocationally oriented courses will become the major clientele of the evening college. As they get into the habit of continuing education, as they reap rich rewards in personal satisfaction through such learning experiences, these adults will continue as part-time students well into their later years, if, of course, the evening colleges provide conditions of study and attendance congenial to an older population and not geared to twenty-year olds.

Admittedly, many agencies besides schools and colleges will be engaged in continuing education for adults. But the major responsibility for providing such opportunities lies with our colleges and universities. In the coming years, the evening colleges must give their attention to how they can do that job most effectively—how, if you will, they can achieve excellence.

This is essentially my assigned topic. Yet I am sick and tired of the word "excellence." Excellence of performance is something to which no sensible individual can object. Every educator wants to achieve excellence. John W. Gardner, of the Carnegie Corporation, has written an excellent book on the subject. His thesis is that excellence is necessary to the survival of our democracy, that we must insist that "free men are capable of the highest performance," and that "we must seek excellence in a context of concern for all."[11] Dr. Gardner admits, however, that "excellence" means different things to different people,[12] and in education, "as things now stand, the word excellence is all too often reserved for the dozen or two dozen institutions which stand at the very zenith of our higher education in terms of faculty distinction, selectivity of students and difficulty of curriculum." In these terms, he says, "it is simply impossible to speak of a junior college, for example, as excellent. Yet sensible men can easily conceive of excellence in a junior college."[13] And speaking to the very subject of standards of excellence in the junior college, U. S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel says that "Perhaps the most important standard of excellence of any college is the extent to which it serves the needs of students and contributes to their success."[14]

I cannot know if AUEC is using the term excellence in this latter meaning or not. I suspect it is not. I'm sure it doesn't want the term restricted to only a few institutions. But I suspect its use of the term smacks of the connotation implicit in its narrow and wholly unjustified meaning. Certainly, in this meaning, I disagree with the assumptions of the AUEC program committee for this convention. The chairman wrote me that the committee believed that "in the final analysis the

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[9] Alan B. Knox, "The Audience for Liberal Adult Education," Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1962, p. 36.

[10] Liveright, op. cit., p. 8.

[11] John W. Gardner, Excellence, Harper, New York, 1961, pp. 77 and 160.

[12] Gardner, op. cit., p. xii.

[13] Ibid., p. 13.

[14] Francis Keppel, "Standards of Excellence," Junior College Journal, Vol. 34, No. 1 (September, 1963), p. 9.

Evening College will be judged on the basis of its insistence on high standards of academic excellence all along the line."

If this is true, evening college deans are serving a lost cause. If they and their colleges are to be judged on the basis of "high standards of academic excellence," the judgment will be rendered by the faculties of the institution of which they are a part and of higher education as a whole. Yet these faculties, for the most part, don't know the first thing about the nature of education for adults, aren't really interested in it, and according to McMahon's own testimony, distrust the whole operation.[15]

These faculties, moreover, are becoming less and less interested in the evening college operation because of two trends in current academic life, one unfortunate, one admirable. The latter is the higher salaries paid throughout higher education. Evening colleges, at least in the better universities, are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit faculty from the day schools and colleges because such faculty are no longer hungry or hurting for shoes for the kids. A full professor earning $10,000—and that's pretty close to the minimum salary in many of the universities represented in AUEC—isn't likely to teach the equivalent of a fourth or a third of his day load—it really isn't, but the arithmetic says it is—for one tenth his nine-month salary. For those in the higher salary brackets, it's still less likely. It's harder, moreover, even to recruit the younger men in the lower ranks, not just because their salaries have advanced appreciably too, but because they can't afford to take the time for evening college teaching from their scholarship or research upon which their professional advancement depends, including advancement into the more affluent salary brackets.

The growing concern with research is the other trend which is hacking away at the never very strong faculty interest in evening college teaching. Any young professor fresh out of graduate school knows the road to promotion and recognition comes not from teaching, regardless of how much deans and presidents extol it. When the chips are down, it's the publications which count. The best paid professors have the lightest teaching loads; even young men in those disciplines in short supply, mathematics and physics, for example, can demand and get low teaching loads. Unhappily, teaching scarcely counts any more, at least the teaching of undergraduates, even in the day colleges; teaching in the evening colleges carries even less importance.

If the program and success of the evening college is to be judged primarily by the faculty, the AUEC may be correct in insisting on "high standards of academic excellence all along the line." But if it does, and this means what I think it does, the deans and directors are digging their own graves. Why?

Let me examine what I believe to be the prevailing faculty notion of academic excellence.

It means, for example, higher and higher standards for admission. There are more tests required. I serve a state university; we now require in addition to the SAT, three CEEB achievement tests. Many state institutions in the Middle West have adopted the American College Testing program. There is no longer a place for the marginal student. Almost no state university is now required, as it once was, to accept any graduate of an accredited high school in its state. The development of the community junior college makes it possible to advance standards in this way. No second, let alone third, chances are offered. Roadblocks are set up for transfer students, although junior college graduates are getting better treatment, but courses must be parallel, if not similar in content and level. In effect, we do everything we can to make admission tough, if not even to discourage it, in order to "raise standards."

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[15] McMahon, op. cit., p. 15.

This is bad enough for the kids from high school; it may be death on the adults, especially older adults, some of whom are successful occupationally and may resent all the advising, testing, and coddling, others of whom are uncertain of themselves anyway and likely to be terrified at the admissions routine we have set up for young adolescents. Yet, if I interpret the direction in which AUEC is moving, if the University College idea prevails—that is, of parity with the day colleges and equivalent standards—admission to the evening program will become even tougher and more demanding. College Boards or similar tests will be required, for example. McMahon proposes classifying adult students in accordance with their potential educability, with one group "judged" as "unqualified to pursue work toward a degree."[16] Our record of judgment is poor enough with seventeen and eighteen year olds; it is likely to be even less so with adults. In any case, adults are unlikely to take kindly to aptitude testing. If I had to take the SAT to gain admission to a credit course in which I wished to enroll, I'd not enroll. Yet such testing may well be the result of insisting on "high standards of professional excellence."

One of the ablest of evening college deans, Louis Hacker, resigned in 1958, in protest over the Columbia faculty report which recommended new restrictive policies for the School of General Studies with the intent of reducing the number of part-time students not working for a degree. Included was the requirement that all students desiring to enroll for more than two courses must take an admissions exam.[17]

In this direction lies, in my opinion, the negation of the fundamental philosophy of continuing education for adults. I am arguing today, and every day, for providing maximum opportunities for adults to continue their education. I am not afraid that some academic zombi will slip into a class in the Modern Novel or the Emerging Nations of Africa. If he becomes a nuisance, he can be asked to withdraw. But he will benefit, even if his I.Q. is less than that of a Harvard undergraduate. To have students with such I.Q's is, I honestly believe, the longed-for goal of almost all faculty members, even those exiled in some academic limbo. Raising standards is somehow looked upon as a way of getting a little closer to academic paradise. This is not the road to the kind of comprehensive program of continuing education of adults necessary to the preservation of democratic society and the creation of a better world for all peoples everywhere.

I need say little about "high standards of excellence" for the students actually enrolled in the evening college. If these standards are to be comparable to those in the day colleges, there will be more and more work imposed, more and more attention paid to prerequisites and to specialization via the major rather than to breadth in education. Even then the cry will be heard in the corridors where the faculty gather to "throw them out," since most faculty members believe there are too many students now in college who don't belong there. Recently I heard a former professor say the figure was 80 per cent. This will be the environment of the evening college if the emphasis upon high standards with the accompanying trend toward credit courses only prevails.

I recognize that the conflict in purpose of the evening college, the dichotomy between the traditional education toward a degree and the less formal non-credit adult education, may, as McMahon contends, make "a jumble out of the evening college."[18] I recognize, moreover, that the evening college has frequently been criticized for "soft pedagogy," that the evening college dean has been regarded, as John Dyer points out, as a pariah among his academic colleagues. It is not unnatural, therefore, that evening college administrators would prefer to get out of the dilemma and confusion by ridding themselves of the more irregular aspects of their program and to concentrate on the more traditional degree work, aiming at the improvement of academic standards in the process. In this manner, their job becomes less complex and they gain academic responsibility for themselves and their operation. Certainly there is no doubt that the trend is toward the traditional program, operated within a day college frame of reference.

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[16] Ibid., p. 16.

[17] New York Times, Jan. 4, 1959.

Dyer points to the testimony of fifty-five deans of the country's largest evening colleges that "their offerings do not differ significantly from their counterparts in the day colleges."[19] Carey's more recent study reports "the development in programming is to repeat as widely as possible all daytime curricula." Conversely, "none of the evening divisions has seen non-credit programming as a way of giving a distinctive coloration to the adult enterprise."[20] McMahon, too, reports that the trend is away from non-credit courses.[21]

McMahon and other evening college deans would accelerate the trend. I regard it as unfortunate and ill-advised. Let me make it clear that I recognize degree work as an important part of the responsibility of the evening college. In the immediate future I look for an increase in the number of part-time students seeking undergraduate degrees. Eventually, however, as more and more of our young people complete a college education and more of today's non-college graduates complete their undergraduate degrees through evening college work, this part of the program will be proportionately reduced.

On the other hand, I look for a significant increase in degree work at the master's level. Dyer has objected to the trend toward expansion of graduate work, for in doing so, he states, the evening college "runs the risk of weakening through proliferation its usefulness to our society."[22] Rather, as a master's degree becomes increasingly necessary today for any professional field, it seems to me that the evening college should provide opportunities to earn it, and that the evening college's usefulness to society is thereby enhanced. Far from threatening the evening college, such continuing graduate education will become in time the more significant part of its degree work. Such graduate work need not, and, in my opinion, should not, insist upon research as a requirement for the degree. This does not mean the resulting degree is sub-standard. A whole new graduate area, moreover, is the general degree in broad liberal education, such as the master of liberal arts available at Hopkins' McCoy College. I would not, however, favor the inclusion of part-time doctoral programs within the responsibility of the evening college. These can be administered more effectively by the appropriate day college.

Degree work, at whatever level—and, incidentally, I favor associate degree programs in the evening college—is not, let me repeat, the most significant part of a program of continuing education for adults. The most significant part is non-degree work, whether carried on in credit courses or in non-credit courses, and in institutes, workshops, conferences, etc. It is quite possible, of course, to separate the traditional credit work, both for degrees and without regard to degrees, from the informal non-credit variety of continuing education. The evening college can confine its activities to the former, and the university can set up some special unit to handle the latter, as in Dean Paul McGhee's excellent program at N.Y.U. But I believe that the job of continuing education for adults will be more effective if both responsibilities are discharged in one administrative unit.

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[18] McMahon, op. cit., p. 20.

[19] Dyer, op. cit., p. 81.

[20] James T. Carey, "The Development of the University Evening College as Observed in Ten Urban Universities," Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1961, p. 68.

[21] McMahon, op. cit., p. 55.

[22] Dyer, op. cit., p. 174.

There are several reasons for my conviction. The student will deal with only one unit or office. If he wishes to enroll in a credit course in Far Eastern History and a non-credit course in How To Read Better and Faster, he need not shuttle between two offices. If the two types of program are together, there is less likelihood that the traditional program will be an exact duplication of the comparable day program. Although McMahon suggests that in separated programs, credit courses may be modified from their day counterparts when this is "appropriate in view of the experience and maturity of adult students,"[23] many evening college people argue that such modification is essential to education for adults. Whipple, in a CSLEA Essay, maintains that both method and content of courses for adults should be "especially for adults."[24]

McMahon again suggests that special credit curriculums will be developed "when appropriate to meet the need of adult students."[25] But the traditional, daytime program is much more likely to prevail. There will be more difficulty in establishing programs not found in the day colleges. If restaurant management has no academic home in one of the day colleges, it is unlikely to find acceptance in the separate evening college, no matter how great the community need. There will be greater freedom and flexibility of credit courses if the evening college administers a program of irregular, informal non-credit courses too. If only the credit programs are included, the emphasis will more likely be on duplication of programs, standards, and methods characteristic of the day colleges designed for older adolescents, not adults of all ages.

It can be argued that if the informal program is not allied with the traditional one, it will be a better program. It is more likely that when the two are combined, there will be a better and broader program of non-credit work. Charges for non-credit courses, moreover, will more probably be kept within reach of adults, because of joint fiscal considerations. As a matter of fact, in most universities, I suspect that if the evening college does not handle the informal program, there will be no such program. No separate unit will be established to discharge the university's responsibility for informal continuing education. In the past, many evening colleges have carried on excellent programs of both credit and non-credit work. Liveright reports steps are being taken in some evening colleges to relate the credit and non-credit offerings more closely.[26] It is difficult to see what is to be gained by separating such offerings except increased academic respectability. But the price is too great to pay.

There is also a real danger in separation. If the evening college becomes a university college comparable to the other colleges in the institution, there is a likelihood that its functions will be absorbed by the various day colleges. If this results, the real continuing education needs of adults will surely be neglected.

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[23] McMahon, op. cit., p. 23.

[24] James B. Whipple, "Especially for Adults," Notes and Essays No. 19, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1957, p. 46.

[25] McMahon, op. cit., p. 122.

[26] Liveright, op. cit., p. 9.

Three years ago Liveright reported that in a number of universities evening credit programs were being taken over completely by the regular day divisions. I do not know whether this tendency has been accelerated. But faculties are increasingly jealous of their control of the curriculum. If the evening college differs from the day college in little more than the time at which it conducts classes, the faculty may see no need for an evening administrative setup. This becomes even more true as, under the pressure of mounting enrollments, day programs move increasingly into courses at evening hours. An evening college devoted only to traditional credit work may soon find that it is gradually eased out of business, or its responsibilities reduced to such routine clerical tasks as scheduling, registering, and record-keeping.

I realize that at Rutgers, Dean McMahon runs a tight and successful operation such as he proposes be standard for university evening colleges. His college has its own faculty, and Carey reports a trend in this direction.[27] Dyer sets forth the pros and cons of separate faculties for evening colleges and he finds the objections greater than the advantages. I am inclined to believe that a small full-time faculty for the evening college is desirable. But not on the basis proposed by McMahon, under which faculty members would have the same conditions and opportunities day faculties have, including the right to conduct research. University faculties today must be research-oriented. If the evening faculty is also research-oriented, its program is doomed. In the evening there are no compulsions to make the student suffer a boring, or disinterested, or ineffectual teacher. With adult students, good teaching is imperative. If the evening college is to have a core of full-time faculty, therefore, these must be interested in and committed to good teaching. They will need to find their satisfactions and rewards in teaching rather than in research, in service rather than in status. They will need to be concerned more with students than with standards. Status-wise they may have to settle for second-class citizenship in the halls of ivy.

In the last analysis, the work of the evening college, whether limited to traditional credit work or covering all the possible needs for continuing education, will be judged, except in the eyes of the faculty, not by "high standards of professional excellence," but by the extent and the quality of the service it renders to its students and indirectly to the community and the nation. The evening college must look first, as Dyer states, to the needs of the clientele it serves, not to the academic tradition.[28] These needs may not even be recognized by the students themselves, but they are nonetheless real needs. The evening colleges haven't begun even to scratch the surface in meeting the needs of adults, young, middle-aged, old, for continuing education in this complex, frustrating world, with, for most people, long years of retirement stretching out before them. Because of their trend away from informal educational services, evening colleges are, in fact, doing less to meet the educational challenge of the times than they formerly did.

In the light of what I have said about the role of the evening college in the future, let me now turn again to the stated aims and objectives of AUEC, which I have been asked to criticize as a whole. It is obvious that I am not happy with the first, listed on your program, "to promote high standards of professional excellence." It is not that I am indifferent to standards or advocate mediocrity. It is rather that in today's academic environment, this emphasis can only result in deny-

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[27] Carey, op. cit., p. 66.

[28] Dyer, op. cit., p. 94.

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ing opportunities for continuing education to the vast majority of adults.

I am cognizant of the problem of numbers. By 1975, just half way in the next 25 years, we shall have nine to ten million students "in college," meaning, in the terminology of the Office of Education, which compiles the statistics, enrolled full- or part-time in credit courses. If current enrollment proportions continue, one-fourth to one-third of this number, or two to three million will be part-time students enrolled in both day and evening divisions. I would expect, if colleges and universities make any effort at all to meet the needs for continuing education, and if they can solve the parking and classroom space problems, that another five or six million students would be involved in various kinds of non-credit programs of more than a few days duration. Under such circumstances, "high standards" in its present connotation would be meaningless.

Not so "excellence," however, if the broader connotation of the term suggested by Commissioner Keppel were understood. In this case, the achievement of the evening college would be judged not by the academic standards prevailing in day colleges, but by the extent and quality of the service it renders to its students. The major service of the evening college is teaching—informing, enlightening, stimulating its students, helping them especially to develop cultural and intellectual interests and habits which will enable them to carry on their education also through independent continuing study. I would think, therefore, that AUEC's first aim might better be phrased something like: "To promote excellence in teaching and service." I recognize that AUEC, by including the word "professional" has included another dimension to the aim, and it may be necessary to add another aim to cover this concept.

I want to comment briefly on two other aims, those stressing research and faculty leadership. The other three aims to be considered in this convention are not arguable, although for aim six I prefer the term "continuing education for adults" to "adult education."

Research in AUEC should be related to the problems of doing a more effective job of teaching and serving one's clientele. Too much within the evening colleges has thus far concerned itself with comparisons of evening and day students. More needs to be done on how to interest and motivate adult students, the method and content of adult offerings, etc.

Finally, I have doubts concerning "stimulating faculty leadership." Given current faculty attitudes, faculty leadership may well result in abolition of the evening college. Do deans and directors really want the faculty to set policy for and supervise the program of education for adults? I'm sure they all want more genuine interest from faculty, especially interest in excellence in teaching and concern for the adult student. But the key to a successful evening college is administrative, not faculty, leadership. The evening college dean or director must, of course, as Carey points out, have the firm support of the president; his influence, he states, is "enormous and decisive." This support will come if the evening college administrator is intelligent, forceful, imaginative, and creative, especially if he has in good measure that "almost religious sense of destiny," which Dyer said characterized the evening college movement some years ago.

The evening college may be the last stand of the true administrative leader. Deans, provosts, and presidents have long since lost much of their power and a good deal of their influence to their faculties. In my opinion, this represents a loss to higher education, but administrators are unlikely to regain the educational leadership they once exercised. But the leaders of evening colleges, as Dyer points out, can still "affect the direction of their own future."[29] This association must continue to help these leaders exercise that leadership.

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[29] Ibid., p. 88.

The task is not and never has been an easy one. The task will become easier if the evening college continues to move more and more toward a position not just of equality among the colleges of the university, but to one with a basic philosophy, organization, and program of its own. The higher education of adults is different from the higher education of late adolescents or quite young adults. It will become more so as the habit and practice of continuing education, of life-long learning, attracts more and more older adults to our college campuses and downtown centers. The evening college is not just one more college in the university; it is unique among colleges, with a distinctive role not shared with the other colleges.

I hope that you agree that education is the best hope, perhaps the only hope, for the world. Unless we bring greater wisdom into the affairs of men and of nations, civilization is surely doomed. Though we know too little about how to develop wisdom, assuredly, it is grounded in education. This is increasingly so in an increasingly complex world. In such a world, the initial task of formal education is no longer enough for effective personal living and for responsible citizenship. Education must be continuous, learning must be life-long, as we have said so often the phrase has become almost a cliche to which lip service only is paid. We must, however, make the idea purposeful. As John Gardner says, "We must think of education as relevant for everyone everywhere —at all levels and in all conditions of life."[30]

We must do more. We must not only recognize the relevancy of continuing education. We must also provide the opportunities for the vast majority of our adult population actually to continue their education. It is a responsibility shared, as I have said, by many educational and quasi-educational agencies. But the major role lies with the colleges and universities and they must provide the leadership. The task, of course, is one in which the whole college and university shares responsibility. But the most effective implementation of the task will be through an evening college that sees its role, not just as duplicating educational services provided by the day colleges for adults whom circumstances have forced to complete their formal education on a part-time basis or to supplement it with standard college courses, however important and necessary both these services are. The evening college must also see its role as providing all kinds of informal educational services, some with little or no relationship to what the institution is doing in its day division, for a rapidly growing adult population with life-long education needs.

The task is still a pioneering one. Evening college work still needs that "almost religious sense of destiny." Evening deans and directors must continue to be crusaders. They still must waive the comfortable academic respectability and status that surround the day college deans. Of course they must strive for excellence in all that they do; they can, if they wish, strive for high academic standards. But if they are to meet the great challenge of the next 25 years for continuing education for adults, both excellence and standards must be measured and judged in the light of the unique role and responsibility of the evening college, not by comparison with the day programs of their institutions. If evening colleges will get on with their job of educating adults—I use the word "educating" loosely, but my intent is clear—and educating them in ever increasing numbers; and if AUEC will continue to help them fulfill their unique role in American higher education, then the fiftieth anniversary convention in 1988 will be a golden jubilee indeed.

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[30] Gardner, op. cit., p. 141.

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INTER-ASSOCIATION COOPERATION RECONSIDERED

Addresses delivered at the Association of University Evening Colleges Convention • October 26, 1964

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INTER-ASSOCIATION COOPERATION RECONSIDERED

Edwin H. Spengler
Ernest E. McMahon
Clifford L. Winters, Jr.

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
at Boston University

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THE CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS** was established in 1951 by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with universities seeking to initiate or improve programs of liberal education for adults. In 1964 CSLEA affiliated with Boston University. The purpose of the Center is to help American higher education institutions develop greater effectiveness and a deeper sense of responsibility for the liberal education of adults.

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INTRODUCTION

This Occasional Paper consists of three addresses presented at the annual convention of the Association of University Evening Colleges on October 26, 1964. They provided the groundwork for a discussion of advantages and disadvantages of a new association for university adult educators.

There are three factors in the amazingly rapid expansion of continuing higher education which are relevant to this discussion. First, there has been growth in the variety and scope of programs for adults. Second, there has been expansion in the size, type, and number of colleges and universities entering the field. Third, there has been a developing sense of profession among administrators responsible for higher continuing education. The growing professionalism inevitably resulted in association devoted to common interests or problems; the variations in programs and structure yielded a variety of organizations, each one limited to a particular part of the field. The organizations that emerged were sometimes independent associations, such as National University Extension Association or Association of University Evening Colleges, and other times formal or informal subdivisions of other educational organizations.

As the movement matured, its leaders began to think about inter-organizational cooperation in many areas where their interests were identical. The cooperation has developed informally for a number of years and no responsible leader questions its value. Recently, however, questions have been raised: Is inter-organizational cooperation enough or should we take the next step and consolidate? Is it possible to develop an "umbrella organization" which provides for the variety of institutions and programs and in fact explains the creation of several different organizations? Are the common needs sufficiently urgent to dictate consolidation even at the expense of some special interests? Is it still possible to present an effective common front through inter-organizational cooperation?

The three papers published here provide a background against which to consider such questions. The first two present the history, composition, structure, activities, and interests of AUEC and NUEA, the major associations for higher adult education. The final paper proposes a paradigm for a new professional association. We are publishing the papers because we believe they contribute to the "dialogue" regarding the important issue of closer cooperation among professionals concerned with higher education for adults.

All three writers are recognized leaders in the profession. Edwin H. Spengler, who writes about AUEC, is Director of the School of General Studies at Brooklyn College. He has played a prominent part in the life of AUEC, including service as secretary of the Association for many years. Ernest E. McMahon, who analyzes NUEA, is Dean of Extension at Rutgers, the State University, where he has directed both a general extension division and an urban evening college. He has been active in both AUEC and NUEA and served as president of NUEA. Clifford L. Winters, Jr., who presents the paradigm, is Dean of University College, Syracuse University, where he directs both an urban evening college and a broad program of continuing education and research, serving individual and social needs here and abroad. Like Dean McMahon he has been active in both AUEC and NUEA.

James B. Whipple

BENCH MARKS AND TURNING POINTS

Edwin H. Spangler

Just a year ago we celebrated AUEC's twenty-fifth anniversary. Compared with other educational organizations, AUEC is still relatively young, but during the quarter century of its existence there have been certain unmistakable indications of its primary concerns and its sense of direction. Let us examine some of these bench marks and discover various turning points in the history of our Association.

The first steps toward the formation of an independent organization of evening college administrators came in 1939 at the annual convention of the Association of Urban Universities. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University was the keynote speaker and, although his scholarly remarks on "World Horizons" were greeted with considerable respect, there was a noticeable spirit of restlessness among a few deans and directors in the audience. This group of perhaps a dozen supervisors of evening programs sensed a mutual need to discuss such mundane problems as admission policies, curriculum patterns, and instructional pay scales. In their brief experience as delegates to AUU they had come to recognize that one of the greatest values derived from attending these meetings seemed to come from random remarks in the corridors or from more leisurely breakfast conversations with other evening session deans. Why not make such discussions the main purpose of getting together instead of devoting so much conference time to general topics or to university-wide matters having little or no direct bearing on the problems of evening college education? An unscheduled rump session called by a few of the leaders of this band of critics resulted in the spontaneous approval of a plan of organization and a tentative outline of aims and objectives. Thus there came into being, as an offshoot of an organization devoted to the cause of higher education in urban areas, a distinctive association designed primarily as a meeting ground of practitioners concerned with evening college programs.

For several years after 1939 this "splinter group" continued to meet concurrently with the parent association, the AUU, in annual convention, although their programs were separately conducted. It was apparent, however, that the two organizations would go their separate ways and, with the adoption of a final draft of an AUEC constitution and by-laws, the cleavage became complete. From the start, AUEC meetings took on the informal atmosphere of a "problems clinic." Membership was small, the programs were unstructured, and the delegates ordinarily met in plenary session. Questions relating to faculty recruitment, budget, lines of authority, enrollment procedures, promotion and advertising campaigns, and dozens of other administrative problems dominated the thinking at these meetings. During this first phase of its development the AUEC served fundamentally as an instrument through which evening college administrators might draw upon one another's experiences and learn about methods and procedures found to be effective in certain institutions. Since the emphasis was largely in the direction of "how-do-we-do-it," little attention was given to the broader aspects of social needs and curriculum design. Among most of the members there was at least a tacit acceptance of the idea that the role of the evening college is to provide a carbon copy of day session services for the part-time adult student. In fact, the outlook was so conservative that when one of their number ventured, in the early 1940's, to suggest that the evening colleges should develop special courses appropriate to the requirements of the nation during the war years, the idea was promptly rejected as departing too much from the traditional patterns of education.

The Second World War gave an impetus to higher education. Returning veterans, taking advantage of the G.I. Bill, crowded our institutions of higher learning. Many of these students, finding it necessary to secure employment, sought admission to evening sessions. Enrollments soared and many new evening divisions were opened to accommodate additional applicants. This period of growth constitutes the second phase in the development of AUEC. During the post-war years: 1946-1950, institutional membership in AUEC rose spectacularly. Problems associated with physical growth were still paramount, and with the expansion in membership there was renewed eagerness for tried and true recipes on "how to operate an evening college." But another ingredient had been provided: the larger enrollments were accompanied by wider variety of programs in the liberal arts, in the fields of commerce and business administration, and in technical curricula. This widened the interest in AUEC meetings concerning the types of programs offered in evening colleges. What baccalaureate degrees could be earned by evening students? Were students allowed to continue for post-graduate studies? What certificate and diploma programs were being introduced; short courses and institutes? Interest was also shown in non-credit courses designed especially for adults. In brief, greater attention was now being directed by member institutions toward the planning of curriculum offerings and the fulfillment of certain community needs. Nevertheless, the Association itself was conspicuously passive; it continued to serve only in providing a forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences among administrators of evening college programs.

It was not until the decade of the fifties that a significant breakthrough occurred in the composition, structure, interest, and activity of AUEC. With the rise of a new group of executive leaders in the Association, there was a gradual emergence of the idea of community service and demands for a more active role on the part of the Association in promoting programs of collegiate education for adults. This was the third phase in our development. At the convention held in Denver, Colorado in 1950 these efforts came into sharper focus, and led to the establishment, the following year, of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. Through a grant obtained from the Fund for Adult Education, this agency was charged with the responsibility for "providing aid and leadership to the persons, ideas and programs that can help develop the evening college into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." The same year, the first AUEC membership roster was issued and a new class of "Personal" membership authorized. In rapid succession there followed: (1) the appointment of a Committee on Cooperation with Business (which was subsequently replaced by the Education-Business Foundation, Inc. designed to further better cooperation between education and business); (2) the creation of a Research Committee, "charged with the functions of surveying, selecting and making available to all members information on completed and current research in problems of the evening college, and of serving as a steering or advisory committee on proposed research"; (3) joint sponsorship with NUEA and four other associations of the Council of National Organizations to serve as a single spokesman in the field of adult education in this country; and (4) the adoption of a program for the constant evaluation of evening college administrative practices regarding teacher selection and training, counseling and guidance, curricula, building, services for the community, and promotion of evening education.

This more dynamic leadership role by the Association was at first strongly resisted by a number of members who argued that AUEC had no authority to act for its constituent institutional members on matters of educational policy. While it was acknowledged that no college or university could be bound by any position taken by a national organization, the latter could nevertheless help to bring about an atmosphere more advantageous to the university evening movement. With majority support for this position, AUEC continued to move, with increasing tempo, toward creating throughout the United States and Canada, a favorable image of the evening college. Further evidence of such activity can be listed as follows:

(1) encouragement of regional organization and meetings for closer communication

(2) improvement of the NEWSLETTER as a public relations instrument

(3) expansion of the functions of the Executive Secretary and consideration of the ultimate need for a full-time secretariat

(4) publication of a "Who's Who in AUEC"

(5) appointment of a public relations committee

(6) collection, publications, and interpretation of comparative evening enrollment statistics

(7) cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education in the dissemination of information on evening college enrollments

(8) publication of Ivory Towers in the Market Place

(9) participation with the CSLEA in numerous projects and activities concerned with adult liberal education

(10) continued support of and participation in the annual leadership conferences

(11) establishment of a joint AUEC/NUEA committee, on a permanent basis

(12) affiliation with ACE and cooperation with other national organizations

The fourth and current phase in an evolving AUEC began in 1960. By that time special meetings had been held to discuss the future role and posture of AUEC. Major revisions of the Constitution were formulated to clarify the statement of aims and purposes of AUEC and to spell out its goals. Among other things, these amendments provided the Association with a clear mandate to "focus public attention upon, and encourage acceptance and understanding of the importance of collegiate education for adults." They also specified that "national and regional meetings and other activities beneficial to the members and to the progress of evening college education" be conducted, and that cooperation be sought "with other groups and organizations in the achievement of these goals." Referring to the task of re-evaluation of AUEC's functions, its objectives and even the reasons for its existence in his presidential address, "A Blueprint for Action," Ken Riddle has this to say:

> "It should be evident to all that AUEC continues to increase in national stature and prestige. If we are to expand our efforts in this direction we must continue a review of our structure of standing committees and their functions. There are many areas in which we should be taking a more active part--not by regulation--but by precept and example. . . . Adequate representation of AUEC at meetings of national importance must be continued and increased. In order to accomplish this we must broaden the number of those at the executive level who can

share this load. . . .It is time to abandon our defensive attitude about our work and the Association--it is time for action."

This call for action did not fall on deaf ears. Almost immediately, specific recommendations were made for the implementation of certain aims and objectives. Steps were taken to explore relationships between AUEC, AEA, and other organizations on the inter-association level. A Joint AUEC/NUEA Committee on Minimum Data and Definitions was given authority to compile statistics on enrollment for member institutions of the two organizations. Membership dues were raised to provide a larger operating budget and establish a cash reserve. A Ways and Means Committee was appointed to seek methods of financing the stated aims and objectives of the Association and to take steps to obtain new funds. A new Legislative Information Committee was also appointed to keep members informed of pending legislation, and to study existing statutes, especially at the Federal level, for relevance to evening higher education. The Executive Committee expressed interest in the UNESCO Conference and indicated a desire to participate in this movement. An official AUEC insignia was adopted, membership certificates were issued to institutional members, and the constitutional criteria for membership were studied with a view toward assuring that the quality of the educational programs of institutions accepted for AUEC membership would be of the highest order.

Meanwhile, the Legislative Information Committee was converted into a Legislative Committee and upon its recommendation the Association, in 1963 adopted two resolutions: (1) to recommend that the federal government include in its program of federal aid to higher education the amendment of Title II of the National Defense Education Act to extend all of its provisions for student loans to part-time students, and (2) to recommend that the U. S. Office of Education conduct necessary research studies concerned with the composition, economic status, financial burdens of mounting educational expenses, and loan opportunities of part-time college students. It was also revealed at that time that the committee structure had been enlarged to include two ad-hoc committees; (1) to study the quality of business programs offered through evening colleges and (2) to study programs in teacher education conducted by member institutions. In addition, a new standing committee on relationships with other adult education associations was established, the AUEC regional structure was reorganized so as to make the regions more efficient sub-units of the international organization, and an AUEC-CSLEA Study Committee was authorized.

The time allotted for this presentation does not permit me to go into more detail. Undoubtedly I have omitted certain developments and changes which, in the minds of some people, were of crucial significance, or perhaps I have given too little emphasis to various items included in my survey. This is always a risk when one attempts to comb through historical data in search of meaningful trends and helpful guideposts. However, I trust that the overall view contains no serious bias. In my opinion, there is substantial evidence that in its brief life span AUEC has experienced remarkable growth and maturation. From its original thirty-three charter members, its institutional membership has increased five-fold and its new classes of membership are rapidly expanding. While it continues to provide an excellent and much appreciated forum for evening college administrators, which enables them to come to grips with practical workday problems, it has gradually assumed a more ambitious role. To an increasing extent AUEC has become the acknowledged and respected spokesman of the evening college movement in America. As such, it has dedicated itself to the encouragement and support of quality programs of adult higher education among its member institutions. It has also cooperated with other groups and national organizations and, on occasion, has sought legislative assistance in the furtherance of its goals. Increasingly, it has moved from its earlier stance as a passive agent to an active leadership role in the changing pattern of American higher education. Operating on truly democratic lines, AUEC policies have reflected the will of the majority of its voting members. What the future holds in store should, I assume, rest on the same secure foundation. The decision is yours.

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXTENSION ASSOCIATION

Ernest E. McMahon

The First National University Extension Conference was held at Madison, Wisconsin, March 10-12, 1915. Officers were elected at the conference for the year 1915-1916, and they were as follows: President, Louis E. Reber, Dean of Extension Division, University of Wisconsin; Vice President, James C. Egbert, Director of Extension Teaching, Columbia University; Secretary-Treasurer, J. J. Pettijohn, Director of Extension Division, Indiana University. The Executive Committee consisted of the officers and Ira W. Howerth, Director of University Extension Service, University of California, and Louis R. Wilson, Director of Bureau of Extension, University of North Carolina. There were twenty-two member institutions of the Association in the first year, and all of them except Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania continue as members at this time.

The presence of private universities in the original membership leads me to speculate that the ferment which gave rise to NUEA was not so much the concept of "the state is our campus" as it was the whole extension idea which had gained widespread acceptance in the 1890's only to wither away. The "Wisconsin Idea," so well set forth by President Van Hise in his inaugural address, undoubtedly fanned the flames, but I do attribute the birth of NUEA to a wider and more general concern with extension. For example, it is interesting to note that the sessions at the first conference deal with such topics as: the university extension function in the modern university; correspondence study teaching, vocational training through university extension; university extension service in its relation to local, intellectual, and spiritual leadership; permanent results in community welfare work; and cooperation in visual instruction.

The history of the NUEA in one sense is not much different from the history of the AUEC. A group of university administrators concerned with educational programs for part-time or adult students formed an organization which has observed the American custom of annual meetings. The organization grew and underwent structural changes from time to time, most of them minor. The subject matter of the conferences revolved largely around shop problems, and the organization was pretty much a club for the deans and directors and a few of their key associates.

As the organization grew, attendance was expanded by encouraging participation by various staff specialists. Most of the business however, is carried on by the officers and the members of the board of directors. I will come back to the structure in a few minutes, but first I want to comment briefly on the composition.

The original twenty-two members included seventeen public institutions and five private ones. Today, the membership consists of 111 institutions of which eighty-four are public, twenty-four are private, and three are Canadian. The composition, then, has not changed substantially since the original percentage was seventy-seven per cent public, and the present one is seventy-six per cent. Differences have occurred in that smaller institutions have joined, and there are multiple memberships from within some of the states. The membership includes a home study institute and at least three state systems of higher education. However, the basic nature of the representation remains about the same.

Between its annual meetings, the institution is run by the board of directors as indicated above. The officers are a president, a vice president who is also president-elect, and a secretary-treasurer. The other members of the board are six directors elected at large for three-year terms, the retiring president, and five representatives of the divisions.

The divisions represent the major structural and organizational change which has occurred in the history of the NUEA. As I mentioned earlier, the same thing happened to the NUEA that is happening to the AUEC; namely, the representation tends to grow and be spread among more members of the extension staff so that the organization is no longer a caucus for deans and directors. This resulted in the creation of divisions in the NUEA which are operational or professional groupings in the following areas: audio-visual communications; community development; correspondence study; conferences and institutes; and evening colleges and class extension. The structure came into being at the fortieth annual meeting at Penn State University in May, 1955, when four of the divisions were established. A substantial part of the time at each annual meeting is made available to the divisions for their own professional programs.

There was strong objection by many deans and directors to the establishment of the divisions. The main reason for objection appeared to be fear of loss of control over selection of members of the Board of Directors since each division acquired the right of selection of one director. However, the NUEA has survived. It should be noted that the divisions represent functional areas of activity rather than content areas.

In addition, there are, and always have been, many committees with various responsibilities including committees dealing with substantive rather than functional concerns. Examples of the spread of committee interest are those on World Affairs, Research, and Canadian-U. S. Cooperation.

I do not anticipate any major change structurally or functionally in NUEA in the next few years except for the possible disappearance of the Audio-visual Division which appears to offer less professionally to audio-visual specialists in extension than does the Division of Audio-visual Instruction of NEA.

The activities of the NUEA essentially have been professional in terms of efforts to strengthen extension work throughout the United States and to improve the professional skills and understanding of extension staff members. In 1961 the NUEA issued a Policy Statement which set forth the role of University Extension with respect to areas of concern. The statement, issued as a committee report, was comparable to, and possibly in reaction to, the Scope Report issued in 1958 by the Cooperative Extension Service.

As a pressure group, the NUEA has been especially active only with respect to efforts to have Congress pass a general extension bill which will provide, for the public at large, services comparable to those now provided for the agricultural industry and home owners through the cooperative extension service in agriculture and home economics.

Especially during the last fifteen years there have been efforts to work more closely with other agencies such as the American Vocational Association and the AUEC. The 1946 annual meeting in Detroit, also, was part of a joint national conference with the Educational Film Library Association, the American Association for Adult Education, the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association, and the Adult Education Board of the American Library Association. However, the joint conference was not repeated. It should be mentioned that the creation about ten years ago of a general extension section within the Land-Grant Association has had an impact on the NUEA because most of the public institutions which belong to the NUEA also belong to the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities.

One of the operational difficulties of the NUEA has been its inability to finance a Washington office. At one time, Charles McCurdy functioned on a part-time basis as executive secretary, and Allen Ostar has done so in recent years. However, the retainer is a modest one, and the services are rather limited. The Land-Grant Association has a strong secretariat and its advantages are apparent to the most casual observer.

The interests of the NUEA members are even more varied than are the interests of the AUEC members. For example, there are some NUEA members--and these are primarily the ones who hold membership also in AUEC--who have large evening college programs of credit courses, regularly established centers, degree curricula, and other formal trappings. Others function almost exclusively in off-campus classes as far as credit activities are concerned. There are those which include extensive TV and radio operations and those which have none. Some have speakers bureaus, traveling art shows, and library services. Others do not.

Since today's session deals with the suggestion of merger between AUEC and NUEA, a comment about common interests or duplication of activities should be made. Essentially, the only NUEA activities which overlap AUEC are those of the Divisions of Evening College and Class Extension and of Conferences and Institutes. AUEC is an organization of evening colleges and some of its members conduct off-campus classes and conferences and institutes. However, I suspect analysis would show that most of the latter are among the thirty-five or so which have membership in both organizations.

A PARADIGM FOR A NEW PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION

Clifford L. Winters, Jr.

The assignment I have is a difficult one. Now that Dean Spengler and Dean McMahon have pointed out the significant histories and contributions of The Association of University Evening Colleges and The National University Extension Association, I am expected to describe a paradigm or model of what a new professional association should be like, which might supercede both associations. I obviously believe that we need a new association or I would not have accepted this assignment. I think we need a new association for seven basic reasons: 1) we need one association which speaks authoritatively for all of continuing education at the higher education level, 2) which furthers the development of the profession of post-secondary adult education, 3) which provides a common meeting place for all of the significant agencies of higher adult education, 4) we need one association for reasons of efficiency, 5) we need one association to help us solve the unsolved major problems of our profession.

These major problems have been accurately described by A. A. Liveright as the following: the lack of a clear cut statement of goals and directions for higher adult education, the lack of integration into the university complex, the lack of endowment or government subsidy, and the lack of a clear cut image by the public of what adult education can offer.

I think we need one organization because the activities of evening colleges and of extension divisions overlap. Cyril Houle has put it succinctly, "The evening college tradition has always overlapped the university extension tradition and the two may be drawing closer together. Extension divisions are developing full-scale urban centers, and evening colleges, in turn, are broadening their services to meet more of the diverse needs of their communities."

Finally, I think we need one new organization because a lot of other people think so too. Thirty-eight Deans think so because their institutions have joined both NUEA and AUEC.

Although most of the reforms I will suggest for a new association might be attempted in our existing associations, the problems of reform in old institutions are exceedingly difficult. Even if reforms were effected, we would still be left without a unified resounding voice for our profession. With this preamble, let me proceed to the task of describing a model for a new association.

The name I suggest for our new Association is The Association of Continuing Higher Education--ACHE which of course spells ache. Judging from the prolonged labor pains of this new Association and the extended death rattle of NUEA and AUEC this name has more than nominal symbolic meaning.

Purposes

ACHE should have as its purposes:

1. To stimulate the development and exchange of significant information on research, program experimentation, and administrative innovation among its constituent members through national and regional meetings and the publishing of a scholarly journal.

2. To encourage and assist professional development of its members--both pre-service and the continuing mid-career development through intensive workshops and degree programs.

3. To encourage legislation, federal and state, which furthers the cause of continuing higher education and of the association's membership.

4. To foster and define standards of excellence in continuing higher education.

5. To carry out a broad program of public information concerning continuing higher education which would produce a favorable climate for its flourishing.

There are perhaps other purposes for ACHE, but these seem to be important for any professional group. Let me now move on to a suggested structure for the new Association.

Structure

I would propose the ACHE consist of four divisions which focus on the needs of the major agencies of higher education involved in continuing education: multi-purpose universities; teacher preparation institutions; liberal arts colleges; and two year institutions (community colleges and jr. colleges). The division for multiple purpose universities should have a further breakdown into six departments of: evening colleges, extension classes, correspondence and other self-study programs, community development and social action programs, residential education (conferences and institutes) and instructional communications (radio, T.V., audio-visual services). Other divisions may also need departments within them which are appropriate to the continuing education activities they carry on, though at first glance one might think that single purpose institutions could best be served by a uni-dimensional division. Members of one department or division should be free to participate in other divisional or departmental meetings if they so choose.

Let me comment briefly on why I am suggesting this structural model. It seems to me we need one umbrella association which represents all the major agencies of continuing higher education, but which also provides a program and meeting place for groups who have problems sufficiently in common so that meaningful exchange of ideas is possible. Relatively homogeneous groups of adult educators should be enabled to meet together to discuss their own particular professional knowledge and professional problems--but should also have access to a forum in which to discuss generic problems of the field. This structure would, I think, provide this. Junior colleges, community colleges, and teacher preparation institutions, which are carrying on sizeable programs of continuing higher education, are at the present time largely unrepresented in either AUEC or NUEA. This proposed structure could correct this omission.

Let me make a few more comments on structure. It seems to me that ACHE should have a paid executive secretary who is located in Washington, D. C. This location is important for two reasons: 1) proximity to legislators who will increasingly be enacting legislation influencing continuing higher education and, 2) the fact that increasingly federal agencies will be calling on universities for educational programs for the clientele federal agencies serve or for mid-career training of their own staff members. Thus, the executive secretary would be in a strategic location to influence legislation and to alert the membership to potential educational and research needs of the federal government.

In addition to the executive secretary, there should also be a paid editor of the ACHE Journal. Both of these officers should be appointed by the board of directors of ACHE.

The Association should have a president and a president-elect and a board of directors of about nine members. The president and president-elect and about five directors should be elected by the membership at large. The other four directors should be elected by the divisions and serve as chairmen of the divisions as well. The president, president-elect, and executive secretary should be ex-officio members of the board of directors.

The president of the association (with the concurrence of the directors) should appoint regional directors from the seven or eight natural geographic regions of the country. These regional directors, who should serve for terms of at least two years, would be responsible for setting up strong regional associations and arranging for regional meetings during a time of year in which the national meeting is not held.

Dues to support ACHE should be collected from each member institution in proportion to the size of its student body. Large multi-purpose institutions should pay higher membership dues than do small single purpose institutions as the benefits to them from the association are proportionately greater. Each member institution, however, should be entitled to one vote in carrying on organization business and electing its officers. The arrangements described should provide for several desirable outcomes: 1) the association could not be dominated by any one region, any one type, or any one size institution, 2) it would provide for a democratically controlled organization, but one with full-time professional leadership for its affairs and, 3) it would provide for responsible leadership of its regional organizations.

In brief and sketchy terms I have tried to lay out a paradigm for the structure of ACHE--let me turn now to discussing a model for its national meetings.

National Meetings

If a new and more useful national association for continuing higher education is to be formed, certain changes must be made in national meetings. If adult education in institutions of higher education is to become a fully developed profession, new criteria for guiding the conduct of its meetings must be established. Let me suggest a few which I would recommend.

First I would suggest that the program committee for the national meetings consist of the chairmen of the several divisions and departments of ACHE which I have described. Each division or department chairman would be responsible for the program of his division or department and in concert they should decide upon topics and speakers for the general sessions of the annual convention.

General sessions should deal with problems common to all segments of continuing higher education. The content of the meetings should be scholarly in nature. General sessions might include addresses on such topical areas as: significant changes in society which have implications for continuing higher education, philosophical statements on adult education, or major scientific breakthroughs which have significance for continuing higher education. We should draw heavily on scholars from the Sciences, Humanities, and Social Sciences for speakers at these general sessions.

Divisional and departmental sessions should be adapted to the needs of the particular practices, ideas, and knowledge required for their members and all divisions or departments should have sessions which report: a) the significant research projects completed during the year which pertain to its field of interest, b) description and evaluation of experimental educational programs, and c) description and evaluation of innovative administrative practices. Emphasis should be placed on important, new knowledge. The major criticisms of existing programming at national meetings of AUEC and NUEA are: 1) that many papers are not prepared carefully and thoughtfully in advance—too often speakers merely describe practices off the cuff, without careful evaluation to support their description; 2) important research is seldom reported; and 3) really innovative educational programs or administrative practices are rarely described adequately or analyzed carefully.

Papers for divisional and departmental programs should be solicited with care, and be required to meet certain criteria of excellence. We can do with much less in the way of exchanging routine practice and we need more exchange of research findings and truly innovative practices. We must be more discriminating in singling out really good research, first-rate educational program innovation and ingenious administrative adaptation. All knowledge and all ideas are not equally valid--some of our colleagues have more to contribute than others.

Regional Meetings

A good professional organization needs good regional meetings, regularly scheduled. These meetings provide an opportunity for more members of the staffs of regional institutions to meet together. The quality of these meetings should be high and they should deal with the same kinds of content as the national meetings--perhaps with a common theme. This is the best place to continue the in-service education and professional development of junior staff members. I will say no more about regional meetings--merely underline their importance.

Nature of the Professional Journal

A truly professional journal also emphasizes research and innovative practice. Exhortative and merely descriptive articles should be kept to a minimum. Careful editing is required to keep articles at a uniformly high standard and representative of the field. The journal of ACHE should be published only as often (perhaps quarterly) as the development of significant literature warrants. It could be supplemented by a newsletter which contains announcements, staff changes, and briefer more informal material. A journal of high quality will require a full-time editor.

Other Activities of ACHE

There are other activities with which ACHE should concern itself. I will only mention them briefly, but all are important to our paradigm. ACHE should:

1. Sponsor or co-sponsor with a university or universities intensive annual seminars for the professional development of newcomers to the profession.

2. Help promulgate and support a national library of adult education materials and continue to support the CSLEA Clearinghouse.

3. Collaborate with the professors of adult education in the development of useful pre-service degree programs for the profession.

4. Provide consultative advice to member institutions (especially new members)--perhaps on a regional basis.

5. Cooperate closely with other associations of adult educators such as the AEA, with other associations in higher education, and with other scholarly organizations.

6. Counteract in every way possible the forces of anti-intellectualism.

7. Encourage new developments in techniques of continuing higher education.

8. Encourage the institutions of higher education to look upon their continuing education divisions as experimental arms of the university rather than merely extenders of existing campus programs and practices.

9. Establish task forces to establish standards of excellence for its meetings, its journal, and the practice of the profession of continuing higher education.

10. Continue to cooperate with The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults for: a) leadership conferences, b) information exchange, and c) program stimulation and evaluation.

I have tried to spell out briefly a paradigm for a new organization to represent continuing higher education. I am sure you will not agree with all I have said and you are aware of significant omissions. I put forward these ideas to begin the dialogue, to encourage the constitution and bylaws writers, and to stimulate the organizational politicians in AUEC and NUEA.

As Robert Merton aptly points out ". . .the professional association is a kind of organizational gadfly, stinging the profession into more and more demanding formulations of purpose. It must therefore be prepared to become a target for hostile criticism by those members of the profession who find themselves or feel themselves disadvantaged by the continuing thrust toward raising the standards of the profession."

This afternoon we may have hostile criticism or we may have ready acceptance for the establishment of a new professional association incorporating both AUEC and NUEA and other important components of continuing higher education. I, for one, am hopeful that a new association resembling in many ways the paradigm put forward in this paper will be the answer to our needs.

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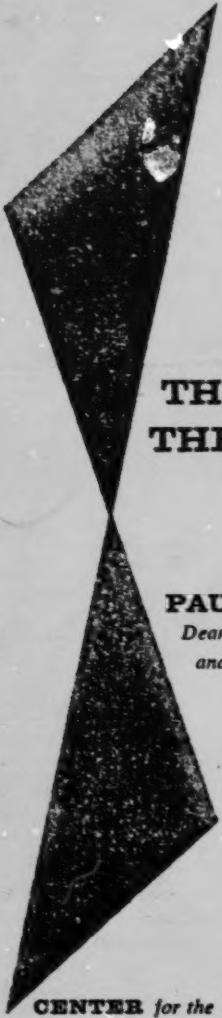

THE CASE AGAINST THE ADULT DROPOUT

PAUL H. SHEATS
Dean, University of California Extension
and Professor of Adult Education, UCLA

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**
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INTRODUCTION

Too frequently we in adult education bemoan our lot, worrying about status or about the peripheral nature of our activities. Lately -- and especially in this past year -- while we were agonizing, others outside our profession were taking the leadership to act on behalf of adult education. They asked for more support for adult education and they even proposed programs and legislation, working in fact to expand the field of continuing education far beyond our own dreams or expectations. Two examples in point: first, the call for action by President Johnson and the expansion of support for urban extension - resulting in Title One of the Higher Education Bill which will allow for twenty-five million dollars for urban extension and continuing education (rather than the nine million we have been requesting); second, the Economic Opportunities Act and its budget of over a billion dollars for the coming fiscal year a large part of which is alloted to various kinds of continuing education.

Fortunately there are people in the field of university adult education who do more than fret. Paul Sheats is one of these. Through the far-flung program of the University of California which he heads, he demonstrates, in concrete terms, that he understands what a unversity program of continuing education can do for all levels of the society. But he also understands that even his bold, various, and imaginative program is not enough to meet the present need for continuing education, a need that seems to be far greater than the most energetic program now underway can fulfill. He recognizes that a national policy about continuing education is essential for intelligent social growth.

Dean Sheats delivered the speech here reprinted to the Conference on Vocational Education given in Los Angeles in January 1965. In it, he presents the contemporary educational problem, he delineates the need, he stresses its urgency. And he makes specific and dramatic suggestions for action. We are delighted to provide a wider forum for his dynamic proposals and stimulating suggestions in this Occasional Paper, and join with him in his call for more aggressive action leading toward eliminating the "adult dropout."

A. A. Liveright

THE CASE AGAINST THE ADULT DROPOUT

Paul H. Sheats

I agree with John B. Lawson, of Philco's Aeronutronic Division, that the provocative question today is not whether we need continuing education. It is what are we going to do with those who refuse it?* Adult dropouts should now be as much a matter of national concern as the public school dropout because these mature minds are stewards of future history or NON-history. And this statement could never have been made of any previous generation. A readiness to continue learning is the key to manpower development.

Every major document on national policy in the past ten years has underscored the need for continuing education as vital to economic and social progress. From the report of the Commission on National Goals to the latest statement on national policy from the Committee for Economic Development, the emphatic consensus is that continuing education can no longer be considered frosting on the cake. Far from being a peripheral segment of the total educational enterprise, it is now essential to national growth and survival.

But what does the record show?

The latest national study of participation in adult education was done a couple of years ago by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. It showed that approximately 25 million, or one in five, adult Americans were active participants in organized educational activities. I suggest that we should view with mild panic a participation rate approximately equal to the paid attendance at major league baseball games during a single season.

Sir Eric Ashby, in the Saturday Review for November 21, 1964, says that "administrators must conceal their bright ideas." The administrator must feed the bright idea into an organization at quite a low level--and watch it percolate slowly upward. With luck, it will come to his desk months later for approval, and he must greet it "with the pleased surprise which parents exhibit when their children show them what Santa Claus has brought them for Christmas."

The proposal which I am about to make violates this stratagem in at least two respects: (1) it involves a policy decision which others, not I, can make; (2) by choosing this time and place for its advocacy, I am gambling on osmosis rather than percolation. Hopefully, this idea may be diffused through this knowledgeable and influential assembly. My proposal will not put another 100 million adult Americans into the classroom, but, by using the carrot rather than the stick, it would induce additional millions to serve their own and the national interest, by picking up their option on lifelong learning.

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*Orange County Life, Business & Industry, August 1963

I propose that we move as rapidly as possible, to build into the forty-hour work week, eight hours of paid time for voluntary participation in organized programs of continuing education. The paid time off for continuing education could be either in job-related or liberal arts oriented programs. The latter would include a wide range of learning opportunities in the arts and humanities, in the social sciences, and in acquiring the skills necessary for community leadership and participation. In case any fast-on-the-draw critics label this a Radical New Idea, I should like to point out that the conservative government of nineteenth century England did something very similar in providing for the broad liberal education--at Cambridge and Oxford--of working class youth, who otherwise would never have been able to lead or participate. And that nation has realized vast dividends on its initial investment.

I realize that various unions have already negotiated "sabbaticals" or other time-off plans into their contracts. More efforts to spread the work will certainly follow. But time off is not enough and Management might well contribute support for continuing education in the interests of increasing employability and productivity.

My proposal is based upon a strong belief that, without a national program of continuing education--supported with resources comparable to those now being earmarked for elementary, secondary, and higher education--we cannot move toward the Great Society. And, certainly, little progress can be made to improve decision-making on major questions of public policy without giving continuing education national priority.

To develop the program and to take inventory of the existing and additional resources which would be required, I recommend the creation of a National Commission on Continuing Education. This Commission should be appointed by the President of the United States, and its assignments should include the determination of federal legislation and support needed to achieve the program's objectives.

The urgency of this recommendation derives from two closely related results of the explosion of knowledge: (1) what Professor Neil Chamberlain of Yale University calls "the steady down-grading of the occupational competence of all who are employed;" and (2) the changing requirements of the work force as a result of automation and cybernetics.

Professor Chamberlain points out that we are still operating as though a person can acquire, in the first twenty years or so of his life, all the formal education he needs to carry him through the remaining forty years of his working career.

But if one considers his education complete the moment he steps from the commencement platform, be it college or high school, this moment will mark the beginning of obsolescence. The real dispossessed of the world--and this daily becomes more true in the modern, industrially-mature nations--are the uneducated and the untrained. But, as Dr. Chamberlain points out, "there is only a tenuous difference between the uneducated and the under-educated, the untrained and the under-trained." Once we admit that, in most occupations, knowledge runs ahead of the pace at which a worker can keep up with it, we are forced to seek continuing education throughout our lives, as the only hedge against individual obsolescence.

The engineer who graduated today has a half-life of only about ten years; half of what he learned at the point of graduation will be obsolete in a decade. Moreover, half of what that same engineer will need to know ten years from now is in the form of as-yet-undone research--not, of course, available to him today. I have seen similar computations applied to the legal profession which is given a half-life of fifteen years, and in the physical sciences it may be closer to five.

A second major consequence of the knowledge explosion results from the impact of automation and cybernation on the work force.

Before this impact is felt to its fullest extent, we need desperately to wipe out the major strongholds of American poverty. In this new war on poverty, the target group is some 38 million Americans, about 1/5th of the nation. The poorest 20% received 4.7% of the total national income. And the official unemployment figures do not accurately reflect the magnitude of the problem:

a. 5.5% unemployed

b. 4% sought full-time employment but could find only part-time jobs

c. an estimated 5.5% have withdrawn from the labor market.

An expansion, therefore, of training and retraining programs for dropouts and unemployed will be effective only if the industrial system plus the public sector of the economy can produce enough new jobs to insure placement of both the trained and the retrained. (Over one-half of the new jobs created during 1957-62 were in the public sector, and this trend is expected to accelerate.) Military and space expenditures provide employment, directly or indirectly, for some 12 to 15 million.

The most serious paradox of all lies in the fact that a substantial portion of the population is subsisting below the poverty line, at a time when the production potential exists to supply all needed goods and services.

Ralph Bellman, a computer scientist of the Rand Corporation, was quoted in the Chicago Daily News, as follows:

> "Industrial Automation has reached the point of no return: the pace will increase astronomically in the next decade.
>
> Two percent of the population--by implication the two percent at the upper administrative and executive levels--will in the discernible future be able to produce all the goods and services needed to feed, clothe, and run our society with the aid of machines."

Even if this prediction is off as much as 20%, the changes that will be required in our attitudes and behavior will be revolutionary. One of the dangers to our democracy--if we do not deliberately broaden participation in lifelong learning--will be a growing elitism. There will be the plebians who "finished" their years of schooling. . .while, on the other hand, continuing education will become the "key-club" for the Great Society.

It will take something much more radical than the proposal I have made here this morning to prepare for a society in which our present work force is reduced by 75 to 98 percent. But, in a nation moving inexorably toward manpower requirements of higher and higher competency levels, with full employment more and more difficult to maintain, the case for devoting 20% of the work week to continuing education rests on solid ground. As the Educational Secretary of the American Chemical Society said in a letter to a member of my staff on December 10, 1964, "technical obsolescence is an ever more serious problem, and lifelong continuing education is the only known solution."

By implementing my recommendation, there can be, at one stroke, an updating and upgrading of the work force, as well as at least a temporary increase in the number of available jobs in both the industrial and public sectors of the economy. It is self-evident that there will still be a large pool of unemployed, particularly in the 17-21 year age bracket, and among those now existing below the poverty level.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 must be extended and expanded to deal with this problem, but even this will not be enough, unless there is a sizeable expansion of jobs in the public sector. My own view is that the most helpful method of creating jobs involves the establishment, at sub-professional levels, of cadres of aides in teaching, in social welfare, and in health and law enforcement agencies, where the gap between need and available services is most evident.

Most of my argument thus far has been directed toward an economic justification of the proposal I have made. But my recommendation also included participation, on paid work time, in educational programs which are not job-related.

"Time has tended to be calculated in terms of work and time free from work. Time will continue to be calculated in terms of work. But the work period will be one of the least important of the day, week, or career," Donald L. Garrity, head of San Francisco State College's Department of Sociology, said recently. "There's a difference between recreation-traditionally a process of relaxation with more work in mind--and leisure, which isn't necessarily oriented toward work and which can create its own values of personal worth and satisfaction."

What are these values of personal worth and satisfaction and from whence are they derived? Have not many of us in this room been so centrally concerned with the achievement of full employment and retraining of the work force that we have failed to recognize that our problem goes far beyond the development of technical, vocational, and even professional competency? The need to broaden the scope of our schooling is difficult to discuss without indulging in generalities such as the terms "self-fulfillment" and "integrity." But this need grows more important as the body of knowledge in every field deepens and becomes more complex. I think the importance of including the humanities in continuing education is best demonstrated by the tale of the old Danish farmer who took his teenage son into town to enroll him in the Danish Folk School, a venerable institution which stressed the liberalizing studies. "Will he learn here how to make better butter?" the farmer asked, clearly dubious about the value of the Folk School experience. "No," was the reply, "but, when he returns home, he will never again be satisfied to make anything less than the best butter."

John Gardner, of the Carnegie Corporation, in his recent book Self-Renewal,* puts the challenge even more explicitly when he says:

> "Exploration of the full range of his own potentialities is not something that the self-renewing man leaves to the chances of life. It is something he pursues systematically, or at least avidly, to the end of his days. And by potentialities I mean not just skills, but the full range of his capacities for sensing, wondering, learning, understanding, loving, and aspiring."

With the prospect of increased leisure for larger and larger segments of the population, our tendency to fragment the categories of academic disciplines must be reversed. We must put the pieces back together meaningfully. As a small step in this direction, I am proposing that we counterbalance the overwhelming emphasis upon vocational and job-related programs of continuing education by permitting, in fact encouraging, the use of paid work time for participation in programs in the areas of public affairs and the liberal arts.

Any doubts as to the need for expanded public affairs programs were dispelled last month when Time (December 25, 1964, p. 15) reported the results of a recent University of Michigan Survey Research Center study, showing that 28% of the sample questioned did not know if there is a Communist government in China now, and 39% did not know of the existence of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Hopefully, by the time the cybernetic revolution has had its full impact upon our economy, continuing education--whether job-related or not--will be as much an accepted part of normal adult behavior as breathing.

First, however, we must understand (and modify) the extent to which we are still enslaved by our Puritan inheritance, which equates work with godliness and non-work with sin. In fact, the enslavement came long before the Puritans arrived. We can go back 4000 years to the Code of Hammurabi, when the craftsmen and peasants were denied the benefits of literacy, and when crafts could be transmitted only by direct instruction under an apprenticeship system. Hartley Grattan, in his book In Quest of Knowledge,** says:

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*p. 11
**p. 24

> "The failure to apply the new literacy to the crafts--led to the slowing down of the rate of technological change--and accounts in part for the unprogressive nature of these societies."

As late as 1855, Frederick A. P. Barnard, President of the University of Alabama, wrote with the blindest of certainty, that a crafts society and its characteristic apprenticeship system was so permanent a feature of American life that vocationalism would never intrude itself upon institutions of formal learning.*

The passage of the Morrill Act in 1862 began a reversal of this trend, but, if you had participated in the meetings of the President's Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, as did I, you would know that the deep cleavages which began far back in our cultural history have not completely disappeared today. The vocational educator often feels alienated from his academic colleagues; the academician often demonstrates snobbishness toward educational programs which prepare men for work. This bit of history is interesting only insofar as we can learn something from it. Certainly the intervening 4000 years, which have brought us into a new age of science, should not lead us to create a new elite of those who know versus those who do not know; to a growing schism between the wise and the ignorant; nor to a fragmentation of the total educational task into learning for the job and learning for self-realization. Blinders may help to win a horse race, but I doubt that tunnel vision is an asset to educational statesmanship.

I remember vividly a conference which University of California Extension conducted at the Alumni Center at Lake Tahoe in 1961 on "The Creative Person." It was attended by about 75 presidents of corporations, foundations, and major institutions throughout the nation. Their interest in this invitational meeting derived from the fact that members of the staff of the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, on the Berkeley campus of the University, were scheduled to summarize and report upon some five years of research on creativity. At the particular session I have in mind, the late Professor John E. Arnold, of Stanford University, reported on a study of 209 top-level scientists and engineers from some 20 research and development groups on the West Coast. The significant point in the study, for our purposes, was that 84% of the population were continuing to study in their major field, and, of this group, 85%, or nine out of every ten, of these highly-motivated adults were also studying outside their main field.

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*p. 338 - The American College and University by Frederick Rudolph, New York - Adolf A. Knopf, 1962

In the discussion period following Professor Arnold's talk, one of the delgates asked if he inferred from these data that company policy should include time off and tuition reimbursement for employee participation in educational programs which were not job-related. Professor Arnold said he meant to imply exactly that.

Programs which are not job-related have been already tried. The results of the certificate program, begun by University Extension on the Los Angeles campus in cooperation with the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, are uniformly impressive. An average enrollment of 225 in a single semester is drawn from just three Southern California counties. These people come from 74 different unions and, in 90 percent of the cases, their union pays the full fee for 160 hours of class work consisting of such courses as Urban Problems; Understanding the Economy; Government and Politics in America; and Public Opinion in a Mass Society.

The need to avoid equating adult education with retraining is nowhere better-demonstrated than in these labor studies. A very few of these enrollees leave labor for management. At least one-quarter of them move up to assume roles of greater responsibility--both officially within the union and in community organizational work. Many return to attend courses, after they have completed the certificate program.

Encouragement of self-development and advancement of personal creativity are good and adequate reasons for broadening the spectrum of educational opportunity. But there is a further reason, which stems from social urgency rather than from personal need. Problem-solving in its highest form is an educational process. The application of rational methods of inquiry, discussion, and awareness of the consequences of alternative solutions requires the mastery of skills which can best be learned off the job and in educational programs which lean heavily on the liberal arts and the social sciences. The energy and ingenuity with which our educational institutions provide the information base on which decision-making and problem-solving can be improved, bears a direct relationship to the speed with which we move forward in the war on poverty, in the equalization of opportunity, in the reduction of racial tension, and in the improvement of urban life. Even the most competent and technically-trained work force cannot produce a good life or insure the survival of the human race. The present generation of adults--not college graduates of some future time--must choose wisely now and deal rationally with the fateful decisions which confront us. Technology cannot supply this requirement. Only expanded programs of continuing education in the liberal and fine arts, contributing to self-realization, increased civic competence, and public responsibility, will insure our continuance as a free people.

I have been an administrator for too many years not to realize that there will be objections to the proposal I have made. Moreover, there will need to be some careful planning on how best to utilize our existing facilities and when and how expansion should take place. The proposed National Commission on Continuing Education, like the Vocational Education Panel, can draw upon expertise already available as it develops detailed plans and specifications. But before I conclude, let me identify and answer, in part at least, a few of the objections which will certainly be made.

There is, of course, the question of cost--cost to industry in terms of released time, cost to the community in terms of expanding the facilities of continuing education which will be needed, and cost to the individual who participates--depending on whether or not the educational services are supplied on a tuition-free basis. Such questions may be difficult but they are certainly resolvable. A nation which is solving the problems of conquering outer space certainly can solve the relatively minor logistical problems of establishing a national program of continuing education on work time. We have already made tremendous progress in the direction I am recommending.

Company-financed schooling is probably the fastest growing form of adult education in the United States today. It may be a case of tuition reimbursement; it may take the form of establishing in-plant programs or alternating a work-study cycle. Several months ago, it was reported that General Electric alone spends 45 million dollars a year to support a curriculum of thousands of courses at dozens of plants across the country, with a student body of 35,000.* While industrial expenditures on continuing education are predominantly in favor of job-related programs, Time Magazine estimates, in its December 18th issue, that some $25,000,000 annually is being channeled by business into cultural courses and programs.

California already has the base on which to build expanded facilities and programs. For over a century, it has had publicly-supported continuing education in its public schools, which, along with the Junior Colleges, State Colleges, and University and Agricultural Extension, today collectively serve millions of the State's adults with programs ranging from Basic Adult Education to Cryogenic Technology.

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* Time, August 28, 1964

There is stepped-up federal support for state-developed programs in vocational education and manpower development, regional and urban development, and agriculture. The Economic Opportunity Act and legislation now being drafted to provide federal support for technical services in the Department of Commerce and general Extension services in Health, Education, and Welfare will, if passed, further insure the fiscal base required to make my proposal practicable. The role of the states in coordination becomes increasingly crucial with the proliferation of federally-supported educational programs administered by various departments and agencies of our government. But these reflect in part President Johnson's conviction that "The answer for all of our national problems, the answer for all the problems of the world, comes down, when you really analyze it, to one single word--education."* In the case, for example, of urban extension, in which President Johnson has expressed special interest, the successful application of educational resources to the solution of urban problems will depend on the mobilization of a state's capabilities to develop a statewide plan and to utilize its existing facilities in an attack on specific problems. Agricultural Extension has already demonstrated how this can be done in the case of rural problems. While the development of an urban extension service is more complex, it is certainly not beyond the range of our capabilities--given the fiscal support which will be required.

And, in any consideration of costs, two basic facts must be kept in mind:

(1) We are currently investing something in the neighborhood of 15 to 16 billions of dollars per year in research and development. The amount of the gross national product which has gone into the dissemination and application of the new knowledge, which results from these expenditures, is infinitesimal in comparison. The scales must now become more nearly balanced. In the last Congress, the proposed legislation to support general extension, carried an appropriation of nine million dollars. Appropriations for Agricultural Extension are currently at 60 million. These sums are completely out of proportion to the investment in the production of knowledge.

(2) These expenditures, required to develop the potentialities and capacities of our human resources, are self-liquidating. As has been pointed out many times, such expenditures are, in fact, an investment in the best resource the nation possesses, namely, its people.

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*Saturday Evening Post, Dec. 12, 1964

As their creativity and productivity are enhanced; as the richness of their lives is increased, more rapid cultural and economic development will be assured.

A more troublesome obstacle would appear to be the difficulties involved in "making the horse drink." While this bit of folk wisdom certainly does not absolve us from the responsibility of leading the horse to water, it must be admitted that learning is hard work, that motivation diminishes after the fourth decade of life,* and that "the segments of the population which will have the most free time are least well prepared to handle more free time and least likely to turn to educational pursuits." Simply, "Self-fulfillment or personal growth through adult education"--are concepts which have no meaning at all to large segments of the population.

I was amazed recently, in reading a Harris Survey (December 14, 1964 Los Angeles Times) that 18% of the respondents reported that their biggest disappointment in life was the lack of a good education, whereas, when asked to identify the one thing they looked forward to most in life, only 3% wished to go back to school. Perhaps the obvious discrepancy in these figures is due to the fact that many of today's adults did not have a happy experience in their learning activities.

The failure to communicate to large segments of the public the new characteristics of continuing education as it operates today must certainly be charged against the professional adult educators. The image of continuing education as primarily remedial work for non-citizens or the educationally disadvantaged does not square with the facts. Today, the bulk of our program offerings in University of California Extension are postgraduate and professional, interdisciplinary and tailor-made to synthesize new knowledge and explain its applicability to personal and social needs. Take, for example, the titles of last year's major symposia on the San Francisco Medical Campus of the University: Man under Stress, The Family's Search for Survival, The Uncertain Quest: the Teenagers' World, and Food and Civilization. These programs reached, over television and Voice of America, hundreds of thousands of viewers and listeners who could not be present for the sessions. Or, take the scientific programs in Space Physics, where the editors of the book especially prepared for this course, could hardly get the copy to press on time because of the rate at which new knowledge in this field was being generated.

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*Ausubel, David P. Paper read at a conference on "Psychological Backgrounds of Adult Education" at the Sagamore Conference Center of Syracuse University, September 30 - October 4, 1962.

These efforts to reduce the gap between discovery and dissemination of new knowledge have little to do with the traditional image of adult education.

On the other hand, we have evidence that the general population wants more education. Since the trend is toward higher and higher educational attainment (college enrollments have increased 102% in the last ten years, 53% of high school graduates now go on to college), there would seem to be good reason for believing that we can, with new methods and formats, overcome whatever resistance to learning remains. Our own projections at University of California Extension show a 16% growth in enrollments by 1975, with the national extension registrations expected to triple by 1980. In a recent survey conducted by our Director of Extension on the Riverside Campus of the University, 77.6% of our current enrollees either have an undergraduate or a graduate degree. Only 17% of their fathers could be so catalogued.

These figures give us some measure of the changes in educational attainment which are occurring and provide a solid basis on which to project success for the proposal I have made, even with participation in continuing education on paid time left voluntary. Those who would prefer to work rather than learn have that option to elect.

One of my first administrative jobs, in 1936, involved the expenditure of emergency relief funds for a national program in public affairs education for adults. We had nineteen demonstration centers throughout the nation, one of them down at Santa Ana in Orange County. Nineteen out of every twenty persons employed in the project had to be from the relief rolls. Even from this vantage point of time, the program accomplished its objectives. What interests me is why a constructive and important task of continuing education could only be undertaken in the depths of the depression and has not been repeated since. It seems to me that it is about time that lifelong learning should be accepted as a normal part of our daily lives, even though, as Margaret Mead says, "We are now at the point where we must educate people in what nobody knew yesterday, and prepare people in our schools for what no one knows yet, but what some people must know tomorrow. We must rid ourselves of the idea that anybody can ever finish his education."*

I received recently a description of a new approach to alumni education now in operation at Oakland University, an affiliate of Michigan State University, in Rochester, Michigan. The concept represents a radical departure from traditional higher education.

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*Margaret Mead. Thinking Ahead: Why is Education Obsolete? Harvard Business Review, Nov.-Dec., 1958, p. 27

For example, the statement "that the task of achieving a liberal education be recognized for what it surely is--a lifelong process which cannot be condensed into any particular curriculum or time period." An institution committed to these objectives must be prepared to extend its concern for its students throughout their lifetime.

Oakland is giving more than lip-service to these objectives since its continuing education program is based, in large part, upon a relationship between a professional counselor and a graduate, developed during the period of the student's residence and full-time study. This counselor, working with the employer of an alumnus or with the alumnus individually, plans educational programs which are of specific aid to him. In effect, this approach makes the years out of school an extension of the learning experience at college.

Somewhat unconventionally, perhaps, I have argued this morning with the subject assigned to me in this conference. The problem, I have said, is no longer one of demonstrating a need for continuing education. The central question now is how to get more and more adults to participate. I have gone farther than that and suggested that we take eight hours paid time out of the forty-hour week and give to all hourly and salary roll employees the option of using this time to participate in organized programs of continuing education. Moreover, these programs need not be vocational or job-related, but, on the other hand, they bear no resemblance to goldbricking. They will represent serious attempts on the part of qualified agencies in our society to provide important subject matter, taught by competent instructors for the purpose of increasing the student's capabilities and developing his potentialities, because we believe such growth will contribute to the betterment of society and the human condition.

I have recommended also that a National Commission on Continuing Education be established to implement this proposal on a nation-wide basis. I have said that we cannot afford to let inherited prejudices about work, vocational education, or academic purity induce the kind of institutional senility which only blocks our way to social advance, and, finally, that the progress toward the Great Society can be accelerated if we build into our processes of problem-solving and decision-making the resources of continuing education.

I would like to conclude with a brief couplet of which I am extremely fond; it reads:

"I, a stranger and afraid

In a world I never made."*

It seems to me that this puts poignantly and succinctly the dilemma of modern man. Engulfed by the knowledge explosion, frightened by the threat of nuclear destruction, intimidated by a science and technology which he only dimly understands, and alienated from his past, he seeks personal identity and self-fulfillment in a world that is progressively more impersonal and remote. The answer to strangeness is understanding. The antidote to fear is knowledge, and the prescription for alienation is informed involvement in community life. It is because I believe that the expansion of continuing education will help to provide these kinds of answers to the dilemma of modern men that I would write it into the work structure and the daily fiber of American society.

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*A. E. Housman

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
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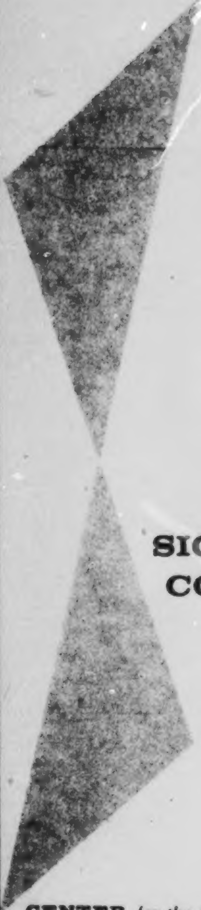

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION

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THE CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established in 1951 by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with universities seeking to initiate or improve programs of liberal education for adults. In 1964 CSLEA affiliated with Boston University. The purpose of the Center is to help American higher education institutions develop greater effectiveness and a deeper sense of responsibility for the liberal education of adults.

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PREFACE

The modern American university moves inexorably to a new public prominence. Conference after conference, scholarly and popular publications, legislative discussion and action all emphasize how urban industrial life tends to organize itself around university resources. The recent enactment of far-reaching legislation by the Congress, and still more in process, combines with the equally significant reforms in the instutions of higher learning. These advances are writing the most dramatic chapter in the long history of university experience. The chapter is filled with the tension of multiplying obligations. They have come all at once, and the university has tried to serve them all.

The observations which follow about the field of higher adult education summarize in a timely way the current advances in this most rapidly expanding commitment of the modern university. They constitute a valuable marker along the way toward understanding the sprawling and sometimes incomprehensible activity of continuing adult education. This report sums up the major thrusts in the field, where many of them are taking place, the support which has been given and the support not yet given, and the varied forms which these thrusts are taking. The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults is to be praised for this timely report. One hopes that later reports will continuously document the unfolding story of adult education.

The report gives an overwhelming impression of the developing concern of American society with urban problems. Indeed, the new orientation of adult education, in all of its forms, is toward the urban community. However, less spectacular reforms are underway with historic efforts in rural areas. At the same time, the orientation is one of new variations on old themes in adult education. Accordingly, the report calls for new themes, new models, additional pilot projects and curricular developments. The final pages and the guidelines set forth there should be studied carefully with reference to recent opportunities for support.

At this juncture, more attention might have been given to new devices by which university resources may be shared with municipal and state governments in the solution of pressing public problems. Perhaps later reports may stress the demands now placed upon the universities as centers of knowledge.

The reader will wonder how the amazing growth of continuing adult education is being accomodated within the life of the universities as organizations. In addition to the precinct of adult education, the university as a whole is undergoing vast shifts in its relationship to the larger society. The new federalism that is becoming explicit, the increasing dependence of the states and municipalities upon problem-solving techniques, and the recent technical procedures for allocating national resources, bring the university into the vortex of contemporary public life. Since adult education may become the mediator of these processes, much more study is required about how the university may adjust as a total enterprise.

Paul A. Miller
West Virginia University

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher adult education is today in a period of rapid and significant growth. During the next few years, there will be many possibilities for experimentation in program development and in the forms of institutional arrangements for adult education. The climate for continuing education is more favorable than it has ever been before, and the opportunities for expansion and improvement more promising.

Along with the opportunities, however, are the needs they point up — for more and new kinds of programs to develop professional personnel and to assist educators in more effective program planning along lines made possible by new sources of support; for the establishment of demonstration programs to serve as models of new approaches to adult education; and for nurturing the important new programming approaches that are now appearing.

This article is an attempt to look at the present status of adult education, and to identify some significant developments that have occurred, and the future possibilities they point to. The paper is in three parts. The introductory section outlines briefly the new developments and directions that we believe we see. Section two presents some data and some arguments on behalf of these conclusions about directions. Section three suggests the implications for action contained in the analysis of developments.

I

SUMMARY OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

The new developments in adult and continuing education may be grouped readily into three categories: A. New Climate and Milieu; B. Institutional Changes; and C. New Program Approaches.

Developments listed in the first category are fairly clear to view. Those in the second are somewhat less clear cut, reflecting the extent of flux within the field itself. Items in category C are so far mere "straws in the wind"; they may or may not develop significantly in the future, depending on the kind of support they receive.

A. New Climate and Milieu

1. One of the most subtle, but possibly also most important, developments is the increased readiness to accept and respond to a fact of educational life — the scope of adult education has broadened dramatically to include education that goes beyond regular preparatory schooling, adding to basic formal education opportunities for continuing education throughout a lifetime. This conception of adult education supplements a former view that it is primarily remedial education, to overcome early gaps or educational losses.

2. Flowing from this broadened concept of adult education is the wider acceptance of continuing education as a necessary component of a total educational design, and not merely as an afterthought to be added on only when the needs of the young have been served. As national concern increases and legislation is inacted to finance continuing education, acceptance grows of adult education as an essential ingredient in the national educational approach to social betterment.

3. Agencies of the federal government, through legislation and financial support, as well as private foundations and individual educational institutions, are gradually enlarging the scope of their commitment to continuing education to include liberal as well as vocational education and urban as well as agricultural and rural education.

4. Today, whenever federal funds for community and continuing education are allocated, there is likely to be a provision that calls for state and local community initiative and planning in relation to local programs of continuing education. Such provisions encourage cooperative efforts between public and private agencies on behalf of continuing education activities.

5. Business corporations and other agencies representing the non-governmental sector of the society are also enlarging their commitment to continuing education, expanding their own internal programs of continuing education and contributing more regularly and more fully to community programs. In addition, those businesses (e.g., publishers) that produce materials for adult education are increasing their investments and output.

6. Universities — especially those in the urban areas — are becoming ever more deeply involved with the needs of the communities where they are located. The "ivory tower" is today almost an anachronism; it is unlikely that any major urban university today can avoid making available to the community its competence for research and education.

7. Similarly, continuing education is developing international significance. Because of the acute need for adult education within the developing countries, institutions of higher education in the United States are increasing their contribution to international projects and organizations; in a few cases, they are actually establishing outposts of their extension programs in overseas areas.

B. Institutional Changes

1. Regional education boards and associations are taking a somewhat larger part in providing for higher continuing education, in helping to plan and promote regional activities, as well as in providing for the professional development of adult educators.

2. Similarly, agencies of the state government and its educational boards are becoming increasingly involved in developing broad plans for higher continuing education on a state-wide basis.

3. At the state level too movement toward some form of rapprochement between the formerly separate Agricultural and General Extension Divisions is being accelerated — either through outright merger of the two divisions or through closer cooperation between them.

4. Junior colleges — as they continue to develop nationally — are increasingly supplementing the work of the colleges and universities (in a few areas even competing with them) in providing both informal programs and evening college credit courses for adults.

5. The role of continuing education in the nation and its proper place within the administrative arrangements of the institutions of higher education are being fundamentally reexamined in studies sponsored by the federal government, as well as in projects undertaken by a number of non-governmental organizations and associations.

6. There is evidence also of a movement within the individual university and college toward revising the institutional arrangements for conducting continuing and part-time education; however, the specific steps being taken go in so many different directions

that no clear direction as to future institutional arrangements can yet be identified.

C. New Program Developments

1. There is a gradual but nonetheless discernable tendency toward greater flexibility in the manner in which adults can work toward a baccalaureate degree; mainly, this is accomplished by allowing credit through proficiency examination, developing degree programs especially for adults, and by relaxing the traditional residence requirements.

2. Institutions of higher education today tend to view women as a separate audience for continuing education, and to provide programs for them that are equally suited to their needs.

3. The average citizen's increased interest in the arts, and in cultural activities generally, has pressed universities in some communities to assume a more active role in providing for the cultural needs of the community and, in a number of cases, also of the wider region.

4. Similarly, a growing awareness of the special problems of living in today's cities, and of problems created by the growing urbanization of society in general, is forcing urban universities to become more closely involved in research and in educational programs directly concerned with city planning and city living.

5. Tentative steps have been taken to make use of the newly developing educational media and resources such as educational TV, telelectures, programmed instruction, language laboratories, and records and tapes as supplements to correspondence study.

6.* Programs to encourage and aid individual and independent study among adults are being widely discussed and, in a few places, actually tried.

7.* The addition of adult-oriented counseling as a teaching and learning aid as well as for guidance in university continuing education programs is being given new consideration, both nationally and at the local level by some continuing education institutions and organizations.

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*Items 6, 7, and 8 are not sufficiently wide-spread realistically to be called new developments in the field; they are included because

8.* The concept of "continuing" education is taking on new meaning. Although the term and the idea of "life-long learning" have been around for a long time, it is only recently that any institution has tried putting the idea into practice by building into the undergraduate curriculum elements which stimulate interest in, and skills for, continuing education; or by revising the function of the Alumni Association to make it an educational rather than a fund-raising agency.

II

EVIDENCE SUPPORTING NEW DEVELOPMENTS

> ". . . The role of the university must extend far beyond the ordinary extension-type operation. Its research findings and talents must be made available to the community. Faculty must be called upon for consulting activities. Pilot projects, seminars, conferences, TV programs and task forces drawing on many departments of the university — all should be brought into play.
>
> "This is a demanding assignment for the universities and many are not now ready for it . . . ."
>
> from President Johnson's message to
> Congress, January 12, 1965.

After years of calling in vain for federal attention to higher adult education and of trying to get an extension bill of some sort through Congress, university adult educators suddenly find the President of the United States has become their lobbyist. What is more, he reminds many of them that *they* are not now ready for this opportunity. These two points — the President's concern and the relative unreadiness of the universities — well summarize the present state of university adult education.

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they represent high priority interests of CSLEA which appear to be of interest also to institutions with which we are in contact.

This section explores specific events and ideas in the field on the basis of which the developments listed in the foregoing pages were identified. For convenience in reference, we have retained the headings and numerical sequence followed earlier.

A. New Climate And Milieu

1. The scope of adult education, as of all education, is broadening.

The significant developments in the national attitude toward adult and continuing education must be viewed against a backdrop of shifting attitudes toward education generally. In our new technological and automated world, education has emerged as a prime necessity. In the context of the technological revolution, economic problems arise that require the management of knowledge rather than merely the manipulation of machines. And with leisure time increasing for wide sections of the population, education is today as much a consumer's item, an end in itself, as it is a means toward making a living. Thus, we observe a need for a new kind of continuing education in all areas — vocational, technical, professional, and liberal.

The most marked change however has occurred in the area of liberal education. Today liberal education is needed alike by workers, faced with longer vacations and a shorter work week, and by executives, who must make ever more far-reaching decisions. Social change has created a new audience for continuing education; economically prosperous, they are asking for intellectual and cultural experiences. They are a new group of people going to concerts and theaters, buying books and records, and taking up some form of study on their own and in schools.

At the same time, however, another group — nearly a fifth of our population — is severely disadvantaged. These people too require new kinds of educational programs — education to overcome a poverty stricken background, to break the cycle of economic dependency in which they are caught, and to help them move toward integration and participation in the nation's economic and social life.

In short, among both the affluent and the deprived members of our society, education and especially continuing education has in our day assumed an almost unprecedented importance.

2. Adult education is widely accepted as a necessary part of a total educational design.

Against the general background of the increasing importance of all education in modern American society, there have been some significant shifts in the national attitude toward adult education itself during the past years. For example, references to the need for urban extension activity by the President of the United States (in speeches made at the Davis campus of the University of California and elsewhere in this part year) led to a highly significant meeting in 1964 at the White House, involving the presidents of land-grant institutions. At this meeting, President Johnson urged the universities to assume a more prominent role in planning urban extension activities in the states. One immediate result was much greater receptivity, on the part of the presidents of land-grant institutions, to the idea of continuing education, and thus to an improved climate and increased support for continuing education efforts in their institutions. And the Economic Opportunities Act, relying in large measure on adult and continuing education to achieve its goals, has been another factor in stimulating favorable attitudes toward continuing education. In his discussion of this Act, Fred Hechinger, education editor of the New York TIMES, pointed out that almost all of the sections of the act relied heavily on the educational elements as the major means for achieving ends.

3. The Federal government is more active on behalf of continuing education.

As one piece of hard evidence of government action on behalf of education, we note that the budget of the Office of Education has been enormously enlarged over the past five years. Second, many agencies of the government (e.g., the Office of Education, the Commerce Department, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Defense, the Department of Labor, the Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Agriculture) are already involved in some form of continuing and extension education. Further in suggested new legislation, extension education provisions are broad enough to permit the introduction of far-reaching programs of liberal education and urban extension, in addition to the more usual forms of vocational and remedial courses. And finally, even if the recent talk of a separate Federal department for education proves premature, the President has made the Commissioner of Education, Assistant Secretary for Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, as well as given him responsibility for heading an inter-agency committee to coordinate the educational activities of the different governmental departments.

4. Local planning and cooperation are encouraged in legislative provisions.

Both the Economic Opportunities Act and Title One of the Higher Education Bill* are framed so as to insure state and community involvment. This assurance is achieved through mechanisms that provide for the establishment of widely representative state committees, and the development of state wide plans. Private as well as public institutions are eligible to participate, and state or local committees are required to insure that both are given representation. In addition, local and community groups are asked to develop programs related to local needs and to provide for broad local representation. In brief, although the federal government retains an evaluation function, the new federal bills make a point of emphasizing the necessity for local activity and community planning.

5. Interest in continuing education is increasing among professionals, leaders of industry, and publishers.

Industry is providing more opportunities for continuing education to its executives and managers. In the professions too, continuing education is now considered essential, not only for promotion and advancement, but also simply to keep abreast of new developments. Paul Sheats, Dean of the General Extension Division at the University of California, one of the world's largest adult education divisions, in a recent speech, explained the extent to which this is true.

> "The engineer who graduates today has a half-life of only about ten years. By this we mean that half of what he learned at the point of graduation will be obsolete in a decade. Moreover, half of what the same engineer will need to know ten years from now is in the form of as-yet-undone research — not of course available to him today. I have seen similar computations applied to the legal profession which is given a half-life of fifteen years and in the physical sciences it may be closer to five."

Workers too are getting time to participate in continuing education — thirteen week vacations with pay are now available to senior employees in the steel, can, and aluminum industries.

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*As we go to press, the Higher Education Bill is on the verge of becoming law. Not to anticipate the fact we refer to it as a bill rather than as an act.

According to recent reports, industry is spending billions of dollars for programs for work-related continuing education (from ten to seventeen billion dollars annually according to various estimates). A recent article in Time (December 18) cites as an example, the fact that General Electric alone spends forty-five million dollars per year to support a curriculum including thousands of courses, offered at dozens of plants across the country, to a student body of 35,000.

Publishers are showing an increased interest in the field of continuing education as a commercial venture. Among publishers who have recently been looking at the field of adult education this way are Time, Inc.; McGraw-Hill; Holt, Rinehart and Winston; and Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. The heavy sale of special adult education packets — for example, the Book of the Month Club Metropolitan Museum of Art program, and other similar famous museums series; the series of the music clubs, book clubs, paperback series, etc., is, at least part of the reason publishers are interested in entering the field. The figures on book purchases among a wider and wider public have been increasing steadily over the years. According to Time:

> Books are now selling at the rate of $1.7 billion a year. A 1963 survey by the National Book Committee estimated that books sales and library circulation have increased three times faster than the population during the previous five years.

Another piece of evidence of the growing interest in education within business circles, is the fact that Chambers of Commerce today point out the educational and cultural facilities in their area as a sales point in convincing industry to move there. In two states where CSLEA conducted studies of continuing education during the past year (Northern Indiana and Ohio), business and industry leaders viewed the expansion of continuing liberal education and the establishment of community cultural activities as a means toward improving the economic future of their state or region. Higher educational and cultural opportunities for adults have become assets to the economic well being of a community, especially where the wish is to attract modern businesses which employ highly educated personnel.

6. The "ivory tower" posture is no longer tenable for urban universities.

Many statements by university presidents or by university board members express the realization that urban universities cannot today retain the traditional "ivory tower" posture; these educational leaders affirm a need for increased involvement by universities in their community's planning and education effort. Probably the most dramatic statement on this subject was made by Logan Wilson, President of the American Council on Education, in a speech delivered in Pittsburgh November 2, 1964. He said:

> What will American Colleges and Universities be like in 1984? They will be located mainly in urban areas: as a group they will enroll triple the present student population of 4,000,000; they will provide much more adult education through evening and part-time programs; they will have fewer "lock-step" course and credit requirements.
>
> Older persons needing to update their knowledge and skills, married persons wishing to re-enter the labor market, retired persons bored with their enforced leisure, and hosts of others will be looking to our colleges and universities. As the pace of change accelerates, the rate of obsolescence in previously learned patterns will also rise, and formal education for some may well become a life-long process.

Although the sentiment expressed here is not rare, it is important since Logan Wilson speaks as the president of the influential American Council on Education.*

7. Universities are increasing their involvment in international aspects of continuing education.

At a recent meeting of UNESCO in Paris (November 1964), resolutions were passed calling for more attention by universities to continuing education, and proposing an informational study of the role of universities in adult education by the International Association of Universities in cooperation with the International Congress of University Adult Education.

Further evidence of an increased concern for international communication are the many important international meetings and conferences recently held. For example, the first World Conference on University Adult Education was held in Denmark in June 1965. The conference, attended by over 180 university adult educators from thirty-eight nations, was sponsored by the International Congress of University Adult Education in cooperation with UNESCO. The meeting resolved to promote communication among university adult educators on a world-wide basis, and to take specific action with respect to exchange visits of personnel and the establishment of additional regional library and research centers.

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*His statement is the more significant because Mr. Wilson is not generally so supportive of university involvement in community education. On other occasions, once following the above statement, he expressed concern about the expanding areas of university responsibility.

A world conference on correspondence education was held in Sweden immediately before the International Congress Conference in Denmark.

A section meeting on adult education was included in the agenda of the International Conference of the World Confederation of Teaching Professions at Addis Ababa.

A joint conference on Canadian-United States adult education will be held in Canada in 1967.

In another form of action, a number of universities in the United States are conducting continuing education programs in cooperation with universities overseas. Michigan State University, for example, is working in cooperation with the University of Nigeria at Nsukka; McMaster University of Hamilton, Ontario, this summer conducted its second seminar for adults at the University of Southern Rhodesia in Salisbury. Hull University and the University of Rochester have for several summers offered cooperative educational programs for adults on each other's campuses. Syracuse University conducts a number of cooperative programs with institutions in South America and in Italy. The University of British Columbia is cooperating with the University of Rajasthan in establishing the first general extension program in India. A number of universities in the United States and Canada are working with the University of Hong Kong to enlarge the adult education program there. In Basutoland, top level personnel from American and Canadian schools are helping to set up extension activities in Basutoland's new state University. These are but a few examples of what is becoming an extensive international practice.

B. Institutional Changes

1. Regional associations are becoming more active in continuing education.

Supported by a top-level advisory council composed of educators and legislators, the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) is conducting a carefully developed and energetic program of professional development and regional planning for continuing education. In the northeast, a council on continuing education is about to be established through the efforts of the New England Board of Higher Education (NEBHE). These activities by the coordinated educational groups in the region are bound to heighten interest in continuing education, at least within the regionally located universities. As a matter of fact, in the Southeast, new activity in the region is already evident, and in New England, in May, 1965, a national conference on adult counseling was sponsored by NEBHE in conjunction with CSLEA.

In the midwestern area, the Committee on Inter-Institutional Cooperation (CIC) has focused attention on continuing education and extension activities in its region, but as yet, it has taken very few positive steps. Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, too, has talked about the need for greater attention to continuing education but it also has so far not acted. The pattern, however, has been set by SREB and NEBHE, and other councils are likely to follow it in the coming year or two.

2. Some states are moving toward coordination and central planning in continuing higher education

In a number of states, studies are recently undertaken on the present adequacy of continuing education as part of a total appraisal of educational resources and needs. In Ohio, a study leading to a Master Plan for the Board of Regents of the State of Ohio inculded a survey of the present program and future needs in higher adult education. In the Northern Indiana regional study of opportunities for higher education, CSLEA was called in to do a special investigation of the need for liberal education. A study of higher education, with special attention to continuing education, is now underway also in Pennsylvania. And in the state of Florida, during the reorganization of the total university system, a specially reorganized state-wide continuing education program was built into the new system. The State of Missouri also recently strengthened its extension setup by providing that extension activities be handled under one strong department. Other moves along similar lines have been made in Nebraska and in Utah.

3. Possibilities of combining cooperative and general extension are receiving serious attention

Re-examination of the relationship between agricultural and extension is a nation-wide effort that is leading to consolidation of the two divisions. Among the first states to effect consolidation were: Missouri, West Virginia, Utah and Nebraska. Specific plans to study or to move toward some form of combined extension service are underway in several other states — in Wisconsin, for example, North Carolina, Hawaii, Minnesota, and California. And in most other states, the land grant universities have at least set up internal committees to study the problem, and the question of how these services can best be combined is on the study agenda of an Ad Hoc Committee of the Association of Land-grant and State Universities.

4. Junior colleges become increasingly active in continuing education

The growth and development of junior colleges have been impressive. According to figures released by the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC), several hundred thousand adults are now involved in educational programs offered by these colleges. Adult education is part of the Junior College program as one phase of a three part program. (The other two are a two-year college "transfer" course, and a terminal technical education program).

But the activities on behalf of adults are still quite incidental; no national plan or program has emerged and no effective means of communication has yet been developed among those in the Junior Colleges across the country who are working in this area. Junior College adult educators are now seeking to define their professional posture and to develop a means of self-identification.

5. Many new national studies on adult education roles are being conducted. The following are illustrative of the variety now underway.

An Ad-Hoc Committee of the Association of Land-Grant and State Universities has been created to examine the expanding role of extension, continuing education, and urban extension in the institutions of the Association.

A study for internal use within the Office of Education has been organized. The study is on the role of adult education in the United States, and the form of organization and action necessary within the Government, and specifically within the Office of Education to meet these needs.

A national study of correspondence education, sponsored jointly by the Carnegie Corporation and the American Council on Education, will attempt to assess the extent, adequacy, and potentiality of correspondence and home-study as educational media in the United States.

A study is also planned on the extent, variety, and effectiveness of various kinds of continuing education now conducted by business and industry under the aegis of the Committee for Economic Development.

A study of the Role of the University in Adult Education is now being completed; it was financed by a Carnegie Corporation grant administered by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA).

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A recent study by the Federal Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, on organizational changes in extension, concerns itself primarily with rearrangements of relations between general and cooperative extension in various states.

In addition to such fairly well-defined studies as these, there are also plans for inquiries rather more general and exploratory in purpose. For example, the Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC) in cooperation with CSLEA is engaged in a consideration of the future roles of the evening colleges. (A first report was published by CSLEA in August 1965.) The National University Extension Association (NUEA) several years ago reexamined the role of general extension in order to prepare a position paper. The Adult Education Association of the United States is contemplating a broad study of its own on social trends and directions in adult education.

6. Within the individual institutions, the role of the evening colleges and extension divisions is being reassesed.

University evening colleges and extension divisions were under close scrutiny during the past year at a large number of institutions. Many changes in organization, function, and internal relationships have occurred as a result of these examinations. At Boston University, for example, some of the credit programs formerly offered through the Division of Continuing Education are being taken over by the campus departments and schools. Similar steps were taken recently also at the University of Denver, the University of Washington, the University of Chicago, and at several other schools.

On the other hand, in another group of institutions, an almost opposite direction may be noted. The Division of Extension and General Education at New York University, for instance, which has for over twenty years given no credit courses whatsoever, is now offering an Associate in Arts program for adults. In addition, New York University's afternoon and evening courses which were in the past administered directly by the departments will now be assigned to a newly created administrative unit. The evening credit programs, which until recently were located within individual departments at the University of Washington, are now relocated in an extension division. And all part-time degrees, as well as all informal programs at American University in Washington, are now operated by a new College of Continuing Education.

For the time being, therefore, there seems to be no uniform pattern for the organization and administration of continuing education in universities (either in credit or non-credit programs). But there is considerable self-examination and much planning.

C. New Program Developments

Among the variety of continuing education programs now offered in institutions of higher education, a few new developments are notable. These reflect the national concern for the underprivileged, on one hand, and, on the other, for improving the quality of intellectual and cultural life of all citizens.

It is important to point out, however, that such new directions are evident in only a small number of the hundreds of institutions offering programs of higher adult education. The great majority of adults enrolled in continuing education programs in colleges and universities are enrolled in the usual forms of part-time evening credit programs leading toward regular AB degrees; or they are enrolled in special business, education, or other professional or sub-professional education directly related to their jobs or professions. In urban centers, a somewhat larger number of adults is becoming involved in university non-credit, informal programs.

Adult enrollment in both credit and informal programs, however, continues to mount. And along with the rather traditional kinds of offerings, a number of new programs — new in content or in arrangements for study — are evolving. It is these that were identified in the first section as "straws in the wind" in program and curricular development.

1. "Degree programs especially for adults" are growing in number and stature.

Following the apparent success in the use of proficiency examinations for assigning course credit in New York State, the College Entrance Examination Board is moving toward the establishment of a nation-wide system of accrediting examination for college-level courses. This action by CEEB is complemented by the ETS (Educational Testing Service) college equivalency examinations which include general examinations cutting across a field of study, as well as examinations in specific subjects.

The relaxation of the requirement for serving college credit hours in class has been accelerated also by other developments. The Air Force, the Department of Defense, the Civil Service Commission, and the Office of Education are supporting efforts to develop special degree programs for adults. The Armed Forces have made arrangements to provide financial support for such programs. The National Commission for Accreditation has indicated that there will be no problem in accrediting such special new degrees, provided that the institutions offering them are themselves accredited.

Special degree programs are in existence today where adults can secure "credit" for experience, where they take part in interdisciplinary seminars developed especially for them, and where individual study and tutorials play a large part in the work toward a degree. In most cases, the programs contain modified requirements for on-campus residential credit. Various kinds of degree programs developed especially for adults are now in operation at Brooklyn College and Queens College in New York State, at the University of Oklahoma, at Syracuse University, at Goddard College in Vermont, at Johns Hopkins University, and at New York University. In addition, at various points of realization, are some special degree programs now being considered by faculty committees at Boston University, the University of Hawaii, Buffalo University, the University of South Florida, and several others around the country.*

2. Continuing education programs especially for women are offered on many campuses.

During the past few years, special programs of continuing education for women have appeared on a number of campuses. The availability of grants from the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Danforth Foundation and others, has naturally helped to stir interest in these programs. Most of the programs attempt to cope with the problems of women, who, after years of being homebound while raising their children, are again interested in activity outside and apart from the home. Education is offered to those who want to go on to jobs or to undertake an organized and continuing program of education. Some programs, such as the program of the American Association of University Women in the South, the mathematics program at Rutgers University, and the teacher-training programs at Harvard University, the University of Chicago and elsewhere, aim primarily at providing the opportunity for educational preparation to return to work. Other programs such as those at the University of Minnesota, Sarah Lawrence College, Simmons College and Syracuse University in addition to offering courses and seminars, place a special emphasis on counseling to assist women to determine the kind of work and study they would like to engage in. A referral service, that directs women to the appropriate agencies for job training or continuing education is often part of the counseling program. The Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study aims primarily at providing opportunities to

*(Further descriptions of special degree programs are contained in a CSLEA publication, New Directions in Degree Programs for Adults, and in an article in the Fall issue of the ACE Educational Record entitled "Degree Programs Especially for Adults.")

exceptional women for advanced programs of study and research, and for creative work in the arts.*

3. Art and cultural programs grow in number and variety.

Responding to the national cultural "explosion" (a recent Time article once again detailed the ever increasing figures on public participation in the arts), colleges and universities are becoming more and more directly involved in serving the cultural needs of the community. Most of the new art activities are offered by the internal university art divisions rather than by the adult departments, but almost always adults are involved as audience. University activity includes maintaining artists and authors "in residence" and sponsoring a variety of artistic tours to the campus: musicians and dance companies, Off-Broadway theater productions, university theatre groups, and art exhibitions. In some of the smaller or more remote communities, colleges and universities are becoming centers for artistic and cultural life; and even universities in urban centers (e.g., at the University of Chicago, Wayne State University, and the University of California at Los Angeles are playing an increasingly important role in providing art experiences for the community. Universities are building concert halls, cooperating in the support of regional theater, holding elaborate summer art festivals, and sponsoring film societies. In addition, there are the regular courses and workshops in appreciation and creation of art within the evening colleges, and full-fledged programs of teacher-training and community art education through extension departments.**

4. Urban education programs try to meet the complex problems of modern cities and city-dwellers.

Supported by Ford Foundation grants, a number of universities have for the past three or four years been examining ways in which they might better marshal their resources to deal with problems of urban life and education. Early it was assumed that in planning for urban education, it might be possible to adapt the county-agent-pattern of agricultural extension to the urban situation. Although this idea is still being examined, there is considerable doubt that it can work unless basically changed and modified.

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*A relatively complete survey of existing programs was presented in a special issue of the CSLEA newsletter, Continuing Education for Adults, issued in July, 1964.

**A report on activities in the arts, University Adult Education in the Arts, issued by CSLEA in 1961 presents a fairly complete account of the programs and activities offered directly to adults through the adult education divisions.

To date, university activities in urban affairs have included long-term research, theoretical discussions about the city, efforts to deal with urban problems at home and in South America or Africa, attempts to develop educational programs about architecture, or about how city planning and urban renewal should work. Very few programs have as yet tried to tackle directly the education of urban people for urban living. Few individuals or institutions have attempted to see how education can help to improve the conditions of city living, or how to train civic and social leaders who can analyze local needs and develop action programs to deal with the problems they uncover.

Some suggestive activities along these lines, however, are underway. Recently in New York, the New School for Social Research developed an educational program about the city and its complexities for New York City citizens. Boston University and CSLEA are drafting a plan for an institute for metropolitan education that attempts to develop an all-around educational approach for the education of citizens in a metropolitan area. Also in Boston, the social work departments of Boston University and Brandeis University have become directly and effectively involved in a city-wide program to deal with juvenile delinquency and the underprivileged. University College (the adult education branch) of Syracuse University, in cooperation with the School of Social Work and a community organization, has developed an inner-city action-research program, along with a training program for community organizers and for social workers in community organizations. (This project received one of the first grants under the new Economic Opportunities Act.)

A review of programs aimed at the education of the disadvantaged (within the urban setting), reported in the December 28 1964 issue of CSLEA's newsletter, indicates that there is considerable experimentation being conducted in this area at some institutions that serve urban communities. These programs are, however, seldom operated through the adult divisions, and fewer still attempt to deal with the problem of the urban underprivileged society on a well-rounded and over-all educational basis.

5. New multi-media approaches are being explored for use in adult education programs.

A number of experimental efforts in combining several different media in a single educational program are underway. On a national basis, there is "Metropolis," a program developed jointly by National Education Television and the University Council on Education for Public Responsibility (a committee of representatives of the ten institutions which received grants for this form of program from the Fund for Adult Education). "Metropolis" combined a prepared TV series, a book of readings, and local discussion programs to follow the taped TV shows. A second series on automation as a factor in contemporary living is being discussed now.) The University of Wisconsin, with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, is working on a project titled Articulated Instructional Media (AIM), the purpose is to explore the value of combining correspondence-study with radio and TV instruction, and individual study and summer institutes, in an adult education program. The plan is being developed by the extension division in close cooperation with various undergraduate and graduate departments at the university. Other universities are experimenting with joining television and correspondence-study, introducing tele-lecture techniques (bringing outstanding persons into the classroom by means of the telephone.) in lecture and seminar courses, using records and tapes (as developed, for example, by the Institute for University Studies) as part of the course materials. A few institutions are experimenting with the use of programmed instruction in adult education programs.

6. Independent study as a means of adult education arouses much interest today.

Independent study is a major component of several current programs. At Oklahoma University, students in the Bachelor of Liberal Studies Degree program spend a major part of their time working on an independent-study basis, first in the program's three basic curricular areas, and later when working on their major project or problem paper. At Goddard College, two-week residential institutes on campus are followed by several months of individual study at home. Students are guided by tutors with whom they communicate through correspondence and taped conversations.

Large numbers of adults are still enrolling in the many traditional correspondence and home-study courses long a part of program offerings of universities as well as of commercial organizations. The National Opinion Research Center's study of patterns of participation in adult education found a surprisingly high figure (some nine million) of adults engaged in regular adult education programs on a self-directed or independent study basis.

However, with respect to experimentation in independent study patterns, new developments at the undergraduate level (at institutions such as Lake Forest College, Stevens College, and Antioch College) still lead the field. But there are signs that continuing education will enlarge its efforts in this area also in the near future.

7. Counseling for adults is receiving a strong empahsis.

Adult counseling, as an integral part of continuing education efforts, and especially as an aid to independent study, is emerging as an area of wide interest in adult education. The need for a special kind of adult counselor is already being felt in connection with the continuing education programs for women, and in the degree programs especially for adults mentioned earlier. An exploratory, direction-finding conference on counseling was held this Spring; it was sponsored by the New England Board of Higher Education and CSLEA, with financial aid from Carnegie. The purpose was to examine the essential elements of adult counseling and to develop graduate programs or workshops for counselors of adults. During this summer also an eight-week course, sponsored by the American Association of University Women was designed to help qualified women to develop specialized techniques for counseling adult women.

8. More attention is paid to the idea of continuity in education.

Efforts to promote continuity in education are concerned with understanding and implementing education as a continuing engagement throughout life. Although the specific term "continuity" is not often used, recent articles have dealt with the idea; for example, Ordered Pluralism by George E. Barton; "Continuing Learner" by ~~Cyril O'Houle~~; an article in Harper's, "Easy Chair," by McGeorge Bundy. Within CSLEA, a number of internal papers have dealt directly with the "concept of continuity".

In essence, the idea implies basic changes in existing undergraduate curricula and programs, to introduce activities into the undergraduate programs that build in a desire for post school learning early in the student's academic career, that instill the motivation for continuing education, and that provide the skills for independent study. These goals should be made part of the basic objectives set for undergraduates by a university. And activities like these begun in the undergraduate program ought to be buttressed by educational counseling and advisement services that continue after graduation, by new educational approaches in the alumni departments, and by the development of opportunities for participation in continuing and integrated programs of education for all adults in the community.

Although it is still not possible to point out any one institution that has a fully developed program based on this concept of continuity, there are a few that have made encouraging beginnings. Several activities at Oakland University in Michigan lead in this direction. Extension personnel, for example, recently studied and analyzed the concept in an extended seminar series with the faculty; preparatory (for continuing education) seminars for undergraduates are being introduced; continuing counseling services for graduates have been established; and the alumni program is education-oriented. In connection with its program for women, the University of Minnesota has experimented with a special seminar for undergraduate women to help them look ahead to and beyond the child-rearing years to future needs and opportunities for continuing education. And the University of Pittsburgh has announced a community-wide approach to the concept of continuous education.

A promising route to "continuity" may be through education programs for alumni. The program underway at Oakland University has already been mentioned. Boston University is now re-examining its alumni program with a view to making it a more effective educational arm of the University. Cleveland College pioneered in the development of city-wide programs for continuing education of alumni. The American Alumni Council, CSLEA, and a committee in NUEA, are jointly exploring ways for alumni departments to become more actively and effectively involved in continuing education. At this year's national annual meeting of the American Alumni Council, three sessions were devoted to explaining the ways in which continuing education can contribute to alumni programs.

III

IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

The wider recognition today of the need for further education for all groups of adults (college-trained as well as disadvantaged), and the readiness in influential quarters to provide support toward such educational efforts present the field of adult education with an opportunity to try to develop some of the kinds of educational programs it has long thought necessary. But the expanded opportunity points up more sharply than ever before the gaps in readiness that must be bridged if the potential in the present situation is to be realized. The purpose of this section is to list some of the needs in the field that are implied by the foregoing analysis of the new developments in adult education, and to identify some steps that must be taken soon in order to get moving along lines dictated by the society's needs and the new opportunities for securing support.

We have grouped the needs into three major classes: First is the need for urging and helping educators to plan effective programs along lines made possible by new appropriations, and to provide for more opportunities for personnel training and for professional development. Second is the need for an opportunity to try out ideas and develop new program models as demonstrations of what ought to and can be done. And third is the need to assess and nurture the new program and curricular directions that are being introduced.

Before elaborating these implied needs, it is well to point out first the continuing need for inquiring more deeply than we have as yet done, into the nature of the contemporary society and the directions in which it is moving, and the implications of these for adult education. A number of such inquiries on the underlying forces that infringe on education will need to take place— both to discover and interpret the facts and to communicate them to those concerned.

One such step is already taken. The United States Office of Education, recognizing its own need for more information about adult education today, has commissioned a broad-gauged national study (mentioned on page 15). The purpose of the study is to analyze developments in continuing education with specific reference to government organization and arrangement— both within the U.S. Office of Education and elsewhere in the national government. One practical outcome, it is expected, will be finding appropriate ways for the government to provide stimulation and support for the advancement of the country's educational service to adults.

In addition, we will need to identify also other aspects that ought to be investigated more deeply (motivation in adult education, for example, a long-time problem), and to provide the means for conducting the necessary inquiries.

Moreover, when studies like these are completed, it will be necessary to develop the means to communicate the findings to those directly concerned. It is important to involve university administrators, boards of trustees, industry and labor leaders, as well as adult educators in some kind of continuing discourse through which they may explore how and in what ways the findings of studies relate to their responsibilities. It is hoped, therefore, that national associations of educators and of businessmen and labor leaders will provide additional means of communication which, along with the usual channels to the professionals in the field of continuing education, may be used for disseminating the results of the studies.

While actions such as these obviously do not exhaust the possibilities, they will go a long way toward preparing the ground for putting into effect the action implications contained in the analysis of the present situation. We turn now to the specific tasks in the three main areas of need mentioned above — to acquire new knowledge and skill, to develop program models and demonstrations, and to assess and nurture new program developments. These may be elaborated as follows:

A. To Acquire New Knowledge and Skill

All persons working in the field of higher adult education in light of the new opportunities, today need some form of further study. The first major need, therefore, is for opportunities for further education of personnel, and for professional development. Specifically, programs are needed for the following:

1. For administrators of higher adult education—to consider how to plan and administer new programs in line with the developing need and opportunity; particularly to understand the forms of federal support now available, and to learn how to plan local programs which can be developed under the terms of these appropriations.

2. For educators in continuing higher education who are involved in international programs and associations, and those interested in extending their overseas commitments—to examine the nature of the world overseas and the directions that American service and cooperation can properly and effectively take.

3. For adult education personnel at all levels—to become more aware of current developments, and to equip themselves with the knowledge and skill necessary to operate effectively in the present framework.

4. For the personnel in the Junior and Community Colleges who are responsible for the continuing education aspect of the junior college curriculum—to have an opportunity to consider together their special problems, needs, and activities in relation to continuing education, and to develop a feeling of professional cohesiveness.

5. For persons who can be recruited to enter adult education as a second career choice—the opportunity to get their preparation quickly through special internships and other courses, especially programmed for them. (How, for example, might Army officers who are retiring at the age of 45 to 50, or Peace Corps returnees be trained for roles in the expanding programs of higher adult education? We cannot, at this juncture, afford to wait until new, young persons are recruited to the field and until they complete a full doctoral program. For the personnel needed now, we must, therefore, look to persons who are already members of university faculties or working in other related fields, who may want to enter the "vocation" of continuing education. To make it possible for them to participate in the kinds of training and education programs outlined in the outstanding on-going programs a study-grant program will have to be established.)

B. To Set-Up Program Models and Demonstrations

Many long needed programs, some in areas not yet well understood, are made possible by new sources of support. Pilot projects to demonstrate new and effective approaches to such programs ought to be set up, especially in the following areas:

1. Models are needed of programs to demonstrate how university and community can work together to develop urban programs. There has been much talk of educational needs that arise in the urban setting and from the deep changes in living brought about by urbanization of the society—but very little action. Under provision of new federal legislation, such as the Economic Opportunities Act and the proposed Title One of the Higher Education Bill, financial support for programs in this area will become available. Experimental models developed now can pave the way toward effective use of these new opportunities.

2. There should be a series of experimental programs in the area of alumni education. Alumni education is relatively underdeveloped. There are very few programs for alumni which can be described as seriously educational. And yet ever larger and larger sections of our citizenry, especially those in leadership roles, are alumni of colleges. Interest, therefore, in workable and effective programs is growing. Models that can demonstrate useful new approaches would be welcomed in the field.

3. There is need also to set up some pilot programs of adult education in the arts, to demonstrate how adults can cultivate the new interest they have recently acquired in ways that are beneficial to themselves, to the health of the arts, and to the artistic vitality of the country.

C. To Assess and Nurture Recent Program Developments

A number of new program forms have appeared in the field. Some of these have now been in existence long enough, and have been tried out in enough instances, to make assessment a valuable step in preparing for further progress; others, however, are still so new that they need help just to get through the planning stage. Following are several areas in which new curricular directions, offering promise of advancement, need further development.

1. Degree Programs Especially for Adults, based on several different kinds of curricula that lead to a degree, might profit from an evaluation of their achievements in a study that compares the programs with each other and with traditional degree programs.

2. Some new departures in university programs on behalf of the arts have occurred as a result of intensification of interest among the adult population. The extent or quality of this expansion is not known. In addition to the new experimental models (mentioned under item B), therefore, it would be valuable to have an up-to-date study of current activities in the universities. (The last such report was prepared in 1959 before the current boom had reached full force.)

3. The field would profit also from an assessment of current practices with respect to the educational use of new technological devices, mass media resources, and audio-visual techniques. Although not a great deal has been done to adapt these new educational instruments for use in adult education, some experience has been accumulated. A study might help to point out how these devices can advantageously fit into the adult education programs.

4. Although there is today more recognition of the need for conseling in adult education, there is not enough understanding about how this service ought to be developed as an educational as well as a guidance tool. We need to know more about the nature of adult needs and adult roles. We need to define goals, and to experiment with forms of training appropriate for adult counselors. We need to test new ideas for using counseling as a component in the educational process itself.

5. With respect to developing further the idea of making continuing education an integral part of a university's total curricular design, it is possible that new universities might be in the most favorable position for developing pilot projects. A national workshop or institute for administrators and program directors of such universities, might help to set these up. (It seems evident, from our experience at Oakland University and at the University of South Florida at Tampa, that progress in this basic kind of curriculum rearrangement is more easily achieved within the newer universities where firm pattern along traditional lines have not yet been set.)

6. A study of arrangements already instituted to combine the programs of agricultural and general extension divisions of universities would be useful not only to evaluate the

effectiveness of these arrangements, but also to suggest procedures for developing other kinds of arrangements for the future.

7. In the area of women's education, there is by now a large enough number of different kinds of programs in operation to make an evaluation worth doing. We need to stop and assess the extent to which these programs are achieving their goals of involving women in further education and in preparation for work or a career. We need to investigate also the extent to which these programs are or need to be integrated with or related to other programs of continuing education.

8. We need to assess too what is now being done to educate adults with respect to modern science, the scientific method, and the implications of contemporary scientific developments for the future of the society. No form of education is more crucial and more neglected today than adult education in the scientific areas.

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FRANK W. JESSUP

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by
Frank W. Jessup
Director, Department for External Studies
Oxford University

October, 1972

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PREFACE

This essay, like Professor C. O. Houle's Residential Continuing Education (Notes and Essays, 70), to which it should be regarded as a modest appendix, grew out of the Studies and Training Program in Continuing Education at the University of Chicago, which was supported with characteristically imaginative generosity by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. The aim of the program was to foster the growth of university activities in residential continuing education. It was directed at first by George W. Aker, presently of Florida State University, but was guided for most of its term by Ann Litchfield, now of Oregon State University.

As a contribution toward one part of the Studies and Training Program, I was invited by Miss Litchfield to provide a note about some of the historical and cultural factors which have influenced the development of residential centers for continuing education in Europe, with a brief glance also at the American scene.

I am grateful to friends at Syracuse University for their willingness to publish my note on the subject.

Frank W. Jessup
University of Oxford
August, 1972

Introduction

Educational institutions are the product of historical, cultural, social, religious, political, and economic factors (sometimes geographical and climatic also). To understand the differing forms and functions of residential centers as they have evolved in Europe and in North America involves seeing them in their historical and cultural context. The Scandinavian Folk High Schools, for example, must be set against the background of a widely accepted and profoundly influential religious force: namely, Lutheranism; the spread of liberal ideas in politics and a powerful trend toward democracy; and, except in Sweden, the strengthening of the spirit of nationalism in the face of external threats and oppression, real or feared.

In Scandinavia there is sufficient homogeneity about the origin and outlook of the residential centers such that it is possible to speak of a Folk High School movement. In Germany developments have been affected by the Scandinavian example, but the aims and patronage of the Heimvolkshochschulen are too diverse to render appropriate talk of a "movement." In this respect England resembles Germany. Attempts to transplant the Scandinavian concepts to the alien soil of North America, however, met with very limited success. Thus, the inspiration for residential adult education in the United States must be sought from a wide variety of other sources.

Significantly, Professor Houle prefixed to his essay[1] a passage from Cardinal Newman's University Sketches, which could be regarded as an enunciation of the principles by which the great American residential centers live. In it Newman extols the virtues of periodical large gatherings, such as those of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, because "not even scientific thought can dispense with the suggestions, the instruction, the stimulus, the sympathy, the intercourse with mankind on a large scale, which such meetings secure." While Newman goes on to talk about "the amiable charities of men pleased both with themselves and with each other; the elevated spirits, the circulation of thought, the curiosity; ... the not ungraceful hilarity, the evening circle; the brilliant lecture, the discussions or collisions or guesses of great men one with another..." he might be describing some of the best features of a conference or convention held at the University of Chicago's Center for Continuing Education.

But if Newman is relevant, so also is St. Benedict. More prominent in Europe than in America, there is another strand in the idealism which has led men to establish residential adult education centers, the desire to retire temporarily from the multitudinous pressures of the mundane world and to join in a community of fellow spirits. The idea is medieval but the need is perennial, as the recent emergence of a variety of communes has shown. It is amusing, and perhaps even a little instructive, to see how easily the sixth century Rule of

St. Benedict[2] can be glossed to make it fit the circumstances of a twentieth century residential center such as Rewley House, Oxford:

> .....we are about to found a school for the Lord's service [to serve the community].
>
> .....there are four kinds of monks [of adult students]. The cenobites are the first kind: that is, those living in a monastery, serving under a rule and an abbot [serious, disciplined students attending a residential center with an academic Director]. Then the second kind is that of the anchorites, the hermits, who by the long probation of life in a monastery....and having been well prepared in the army of brothers for the solitary fight of the hermit, being secure now without the consolation of another, are able, God helping them, to fight with their own hand and arm against the vices of the flesh or of their thoughts [these are the experienced students, who have attained to autodidactism or self-directed study]. But a third, very bad, kind of monks are the sarabaites, following no rule....their law is the satisfaction of their desires. For whatever they think good or choice, this they call holy [the dilettanti, lacking intellectual discipline]. The fourth kind of monks is the kind which is called gyratory... they are guests for three or four days at a time in different monasteries, always wandering and never stationary ...in every way worse than the sarabaites [these are the course-tasters, the conference addicts, the inveterate conventioneers]. ....When anyone receives the name of abbot [academic Director] he ought to rule over his disciples [students] with a double teaching: that is, let him show forth all good and holy things by deeds more than by words [let him encourage student-involvement methods of learning and eschew lecturing]. He shall make no distinction of persons in the monastery [center]. One shall not be cherished more than another, unless it be the one whom he finds excelling in good works. A freeborn man shall not be preferred to one coming from servitude.... Let him have equal charity for all .... [students are to be accepted on their own merits, and questions of social class, faith, race, colour have no relevance]..... the gentle and obedient he should exhort, that they may proceed to higher things, but the negligent and scorners we warn him to admonish and reprove [the Director should be untiring in helping the industrious and worthy students, but should never accept shoddy and slipshod work].

Admittedly, some parts of the Rule would ill fit a residential adult education center (e.g. that after completorium no one shall speak) and some would nowadays be felt to be otiose (the [students] shall sleep separately in separate beds), but it is not by mere coincidence that the Rule of a medieval monastery can thus be appropriated to an English adult education center. Both the conventual house and the center have as their raison d'etre the provision of opportunities for men and women to withdraw from the distractions and dangers of the everyday world to devote themselves uninterruptedly to some end (prayer, contemplation, study) which is pursued in common with others as members of a community. In the monastery and other medieval sodalities the concept of community is all-important, whether it is called community, fellowship, fraternity, collegium, Genossenschaft, or familia. Men were aware from experience of the emotional and intellectual security that comes of membership in a community long before the sociological and psychological basis of that security was analysed and expounded, as it has now been, for example, by Dr. Matthew B. Miles.[3] "Community" is a word still much in fashion, and though the concept is rarely defined, it is felt to belong to the category of ideas which should command our approval.

True, the dangers that threatened the would-be contemplative of the sixth century are different from the workaday distractions that beset the would-be student of the twentieth century, but both result in a state of mental disturbance which inhibits contemplation and study. Without being too fanciful it is even possible to trace an historical continuity in the development of the Idea of the Residential Center from Monte Casino to Rewley House (if that may serve as the example of its modern manifestation).

The Pre-history of the Residential Center; From Monastery to College and Boarding School in England

The University of Oxford came into being about eight hundred years ago, by the secession of a group of English teachers and students from Paris, that grand exemplar of Western European universities in the Middle Ages. The University of Cambridge established itself soon afterwards, perhaps as the result of a secession from Oxford. Like other medieval universities Oxford and Cambridge were an aspect of the Universal Church; they were under ecclesiastical supervision, their teachers were in holy orders, their students were destined for them. Like other medieval universities (not only medieval, perhaps) they were troubled with problems of student discipline and welfare, for the life of the gay, tavern-haunting student was scarcely a fit preparation for entry into holy orders. Parents, teachers, and ecclesiastics were right to be worried. Oxford and Cambridge were lucky enough to find the problems of welfare and discipline alleviated by the establishment of colleges within the university. Colleges began to be founded from the thirteenth century onwards, almost always either by ecclesiastics or under ecclesiastical influence and guidance. The similarity between a college and a conventual house was a close one, and it would be surprising if it were not so; they represented similar responses to similar needs, and the conventual model was one with which the founders were so familiar that they accepted it instinctively.

The earliest colleges were small, and might appropriately be thought of as familiae, though societates was the more usual name. Their essence was that they were societies ("systems temporary for clients only," to use Dr. Miles's phrase,[4] for membership rarely endured for more than a few years) in which the members pursued a common end and lived a common life; they were communities which created conditions that made learning possible, and which were, themselves, educative agents. So, in principle, are the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge to this day. With growth in size, however, and with the increasing tendency for dons to marry and live out of college, their communal character is less conspicuous than it was a hundred years ago.

The residential collegiate principle was thus early introduced into the English universities. In a few secondary schools, such as Eton, Winchester, and the King's School, Canterbury, the same principle applied to the original foundation, but most secondary schools that became boarding schools did so by accident. A local grammar ("high") school acquired a reputation extending outside its own locality, and the headmaster accepted as boarders a few boys from a distance who would not otherwise have been able to attend the school. Sometimes these were temporary systems of very brief duration; sometimes the boarding-house flourished and became a permanent system. But, so far as I know, no one before the nineteenth century extolled the virtues of the boarding-school or explored its educational potentialities. Indeed, the schools were of such a character that sensitive parents shrank from subjecting their sons to the corrupting influence that the boarding-school was generally, and probably rightly, thought to exert.

The Rev. Thomas Arnold, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford (where John Henry Newman was also a Fellow) was determined to change this state of things when he became Headmaster of Rugby School in 1828. Arnold at Rugby, and later Thring at Uppingham, set the pattern of the public secondary boarding school which, in England, has been held in high esteem - at least until quite recently, and in many quarters its esteem is undiminished.

For Arnold, the essence of school was that it was a residential community, and that it should be inspired by Christian ideas. To function as a community, a school must not be too large ("We are above 200, and still looking upwards; but I neither expect, and much less desire any great addition to our numbers," Arnold wrote on 4 November, 1829).[5] The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, with which Arnold was familiar as student and teacher, were usually even smaller than this.

Here the line of historical continuity bifurcates. In England the traditional respect for residential education influenced the establishment of forms of residential adult education in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and still more in the twentieth. To this development we must return. But at an earlier date English attitudes and practices also seminally affected Bishop Grundtvig, the Dane who is generally accepted as the founder of the present-day residential adult education movement.

Denmark

N.F.S. Grundtvig, minister of religion, poet, historian, philologist, was just over thirty when Denmark emerged, disastrously, from the Napoleonic Wars. In 1813 the State went bankrupt. In 1814 Norway, which had formed part of the Danish empire for five hundred years, had to be ceded to Sweden. To the south trouble was threatened by the emergence of a new nationalism in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were annexed to the Danish crown but contained a large proportion of Germans. During the war Copenhagen had been devastatingly bombarded by the British fleet. Although the government remained an absolute monarchy until 1849, the emancipation in 1788 of the peasants, who by the early nineteenth century had become a class of peasant-proprietors subsisting on tiny holdings, shook the foundations of economic and social life. And it was not only in the material aspects of life that there were vicissitudes and confusion; in religion and philosophy the uncertainties and anxieties were of at least equal gravity.

Perhaps Denmark's history after the disasters of the Napoleonic wars and the problems which followed should be seen as a Toynbeean example of response to challenge, for "in the field of literature and the fine arts this was one of the richest periods Denmark has known."[6] It was also a period of deeply-felt argument about religious matters, which was less marked by acrimony than such argument is apt to be.

Anything like a full account of the development of Grundtvig's ideas about the Folk High School would require a thorough examination of the evolution of his religious thought, which for a foreigner not bred in the Lutheran church is difficult, and may not even be possible. At the risk of undue simplification it may be said that Grundtvig's Christianity emerged into an optimistic humanism, whereas his contemporary and fellow townsman, Kirkegaard, emphasized the importance of individual conversion and the dangers of worldliness. Grundtvig did not forget the primacy of the spiritual life, but neither did he forget that the teaching of the Christian Church was directed to the temporal life also.

To call Grundtvig a democrat is an anachronism (he was shocked by the English Reform Bill of 1831, a measure which seems nowadays no more than slightly liberal), but he was imbued with a humanitarianism extending to all classes of society. He rejected utterly the "pattern of culture, according to which human beings were necessarily divided up into cultured people and uncultured, or beasts."[7] Much of his effort was devoted to advocating opportunities for cultural development on the part of the peasants, some 85 per cent of the population, who, recently emerged from a system of serfdom, were condemned to a life holding out few prospects of personal or social cultivation. It was not that Grundtvig claimed on behalf of the peasants and small farmers access to the "high" culture based on the Latin school, of whose academic aridity he was indeed profoundly suspicious. "Learning is one thing," he said, " and culture and capability for life, the human and civic, another."[8] Scientific learning, he accepted, could be only for the few; "culture and capability for life," concrete, directly useful, and related to the national situation, must be the basis of popular education.

It was while he was evolving these ideas that Grundtvig made his first visit to England, in 1829. He spent the following two summers there, and for part of the time lived in Trinity College, Cambridge ("the ugly town at the gutter of Cam," as he called it, I hope facetiously). In 1843 he was at Oxford, and made a speech at a university ceremony. His inability to recall the Tractarians to the regular path marked out by the Reformation disappointed him, but he was highly in favor of the residential principle on which the two ancient English universities were organized. He was also in touch with Arnold of Rugby, though they did not see eye to eye on the problem of the organization and status of a national church, a problem that was currently vexing both Danes and Englishmen.

Grundtvig's initial attitude toward England, understandably enough, was one of coolness, even hostility. He changed his views about England, as he changed his views about religious and spiritual matters, and was saying before the end, "Were I not a Dane I should prefer above all to be an Englishman."[9] He admired particularly, perhaps by contrast with Germanic theoretics, the creative activity of the English people; ... "he spoke far and wide about all that which the Danes thought of doing, but again was asked: 'What do you do?' and: 'I shall never forget it, even if I live to be a hundred...I felt that the obstinate Englishman was right; the most important thing about a man is that he himself does something which shows what he is capable of; later he can talk about what he would rather do and how'."[10]

He also found a deep sympathy with Old English poetry, particularly the Beowulf epic. His passion for the early Danish and Icelandic sagas, his sense of the "Nordic spirit" to be discerned in England as well as in Scandinavia, and his belief that a nation's individuality is bound up, and to be discovered, in its language, are basic to his notion of nationalism. As the Germans of Schleswig-Holstein from about 1830 onwards became increasingly and overtly conscious of their Germanness, so the spirit of nationalism spread amongst the Danes of Denmark as well as of Schleswig. Nationalism and liberalism often go hand in hand, reinforcing each other. So it was in Denmark and the

Duchies. In 1834, Frederick VI, under growing political pressure, consented to the establishment of consultative provincial councils, and after the civil war of 1848 a liberal constitution with a wide franchise was introduced.

This then was the cultural background against which Grundtvig worked out, and after 1836 began to publish, his ideas for a Folk High School. In face of the troubles which beset Denmark the spirit of patriotism must be encouraged, but not in any chauvinistic sense; as the Principal of the first Folk High School said in his opening address, "To love one's country is not the same as hating one's enemies."[11] The introduction of even an element of democracy into the constitution was dangerous without adult education: in Grundtvig's own words, "Education for the common people must necessarily go hand in hand with the [consultative provincial] councils, and it must not be given in a boys' school, but in a school for adults, and it must aim at giving its pupils the training and enlightenment that is desirable both among members of the councils and their electors."[12] Adult education was needed, too, to enable the peasant proprietors and small farmers to adapt themselves to the changing conditions that external economic forces imposed on the country. It was needed in order that men might find the right and certain way through religious perplexities, which were aggravated by current controversy. It was needed to break down the exclusion of the great mass of the people from the culture enjoyed by the "educated" classes. Adult education based on "the living word" was, finally, necessary to counter-balance the Latin School education, with it emphasis on rote learning, leading to nothing but the amassing of "inert ideas," to use Whitehead's phrase.

The concept of "the living word" is rich in association and potentiality rather than precise in connotation. It meant the rejection of the dead page, of meaningless grammatical exercises, but it meant much more than that: to enliven first and enlighten later, or at least to enliven and enlighten at the same time, must be the aim. And the phrase has important philosophic and religious overtones: the living word on the tongue is that which makes mankind human beings, "that which makes us men...which separates us conspicuously from the dumb animals."[13] In the Church, Christ himself is the living word, invisibly but effectively present by God's grace when the congregation meets as a community in the ritual of communion. For Grundtvig, Christianity was not a doctrine, but a religious community.[14]

This brief summary is inevitably something of a caricature of Grundtvig's complex thought, but the importance which he attached to the ideas of community and of the living word was a vital element in the development of the Folk High School in Denmark. He hoped that the King would found such a school, for a royal foundation would be above party. But Grundtvig was disappointed in that hope, and the first Folk High School to be established, at Rødding in 1844, aimed principally at the encouragement, amongst the farming population of North Schleswig, of Danish culture in the face of progressive Germanization of the Duchies.

Although Rødding was the first, it was not the true exemplar of the Folk High School. That honour fell to Kristen Kold's school at Ryslinge, opened in 1851. Much under the influence of Grundtvig's ideas, Kold "aimed at a homely form under simple conditions."[15]He collected around him a small group of young men with whom he shared his home and his thoughts.

So far as I am aware, Kold made no abstract declaration of the educational value of residence, but he could not have attained his aim on any other basis. He was catering to a scattered farming community, and a boarding school was therefore necessary, for practical reasons. In addition, the kind of community, simple and close-knit, which Kold wished to create was possible only if the group lived together, like an enlarged family. C. Hegermann-Lindencrone expressed it thus: "....the influence of the school is not confined to the limited number of hours in which instruction is given, since the students are under constant influence of the spirit reigning in the school. The high school is not only the school of the pupils but also their home."[16] Community, comradeship, mutuality - these were the qualities that Kold sought to evoke and strengthen.

During the next twenty years scores of Folk High Schools were started. The disasters of 1864, when Denmark, hopelessly crushed in the field by the combined might of Prussia and Austria, was obliged to surrender Schleswig-Holstein, might have been expected to discourage social and educational experiment. It had, instead, the opposite effect. "What is lost outwardly shall be won inwardly" became the watchword. Danes were made more acutely conscious than ever of their national heritage. Still more Folk High Schools were begun, usually by individual enthusiasts, and all largely under the influence of Grundtvigianism. Most of them were based on a religious principle--they aimed at inspiration rather than the imparting of knowledge; because the education they offered was non-vocational, there were no examinations.

Nearly all the Folk High Schools were in rural areas, and the great majority of their students were the sons and daughters of farmers, or to a lesser extent, of peasants. "The close association with the farming community, natural at the time, has been an obstacle to greater contact with other social groups, especially working-class and urban youths generally. In recent years, however, there has been a considerable change in this respect, and a large proportion of the students at folk high schools now [1964] come from other groups than those on which the schools were originally based."[17]

The rural culture from which the Folk High School sprang is evidenced by the timing and duration of courses. During the winter, when agricultural operations make minimum demands for labour, the Schools run five-month courses for young men. In the summer the young men are needed on the farm; then the Schools offer three-month courses for young women. The Schools have not sought directly to improve their students' farming skills and techniques, but in making them better men they have made them better farmers; they have not been directly concerned with the development of agricultural cooperation, but in stressing the importance of community and mutuality they have created a social milieu in which cooperation has flourished.

In brief, the Danish Folk High School came into being as the result of a combination of historical and cultural influences: Lutheran Protestantism, as reinterpreted during the first half of the nineteenth century; a growing spirit of patriotism, strengthened by national disasters and coupled with a trend toward liberalism whose apogee was reached during the year 1848 in many European countries; and the social and economic conditions of the small farmers and peasants of a predominantly rural country, which even as late as 1939 had more workers in agriculture than in all other industries together. It is probable that these conditions, even without Grundtvig, would have brought into existence boarding schools for the sons of the peasantry. Without Grundtvig, however, the Danish Folk High School would not have emerged in the form in which we know it, and which has been widely influential in the development of residential adult education institutions elsewhere, notably in other Scandinavian countries, in Holland and in Germany, and to some extent in England, in India, and in the U.S.A.

Sweden

In Sweden the first People's College (to use the translation of folkhögskola preferred by F. Margaret Foster)[18] was founded in 1868, and twenty more came into being within the next decade. They were founded under direct Danish influence, and the earliest Colleges, like the Folk High Schools, were all established in rural areas. In 1370, of Sweden's working population, over 50 per cent were employed in agriculture, 10 per cent in industry, and only 3 per cent in commerce. By 1930, the proportions had changed to 35 per cent, 32 per cent, and 16 per cent.[19] In the 1860's power still rested with the farmers, but toward the end of the nineteenth century the growth of industrialization and the economically depressed state of agriculture meant that Sweden was ceasing to be a mainly rural-oriented society.

At the time the first People's College was founded, Grundtvig was in his eighty-sixth year. He belonged to the "romantic" age of Byron, Hugo, Scott, and Goethe, but romanticism had ceased to be in fashion by the last quarter of the century. It is significant that the Swedish People's Colleges, to a much greater extent than the Danish Folk High Schools, took up social studies and the natural sciences, and were less interested in the myths and sagas of the Nordic past. Religion was intended to be the foundation of the movement, but the People's

Colleges were not caught up in controversies such as those which in Denmark accompanied the development of Gruntvigianism. In religious as well as secular affairs the trend was toward rationalism, and it was reflected in the curricula of the People's Colleges.

Even more closely than in Denmark the People's College movement was linked with the growth of democracy. The municipal laws of 1862 gave the peasants increased influence, both locally and nationally, leading in 1866 to an elected bicameral Parliament introduced in place of the Four Estates of Nobles, Clergy, Burghers, and Yeomen Farmers. The more enlightened of the national leaders who were conscious of the importance of an educated electorate turned to adult education as the means of securing it. Adolf Hedin, a prominent liberal politician, put it thus: "To those who complain of the dangers of democracy and who are so terrified of those dangers, we can recommend only one means of avoiding them. This means is infallible, and its name is - Popular Education."[20] It was at the same time that an element of democracy was introduced into government in England. The Reform Act of 1867, enlarging the franchise, was followed by the Elementary Education Act of 1867. But unlike the Swedes, the English failed to understand that to give quick political results, adult education was more important than child education. That lesson was not learned in England until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the profoundest cultural distinction between the Danish Folk High Schools and the People's Colleges was that in Sweden there was no need for inculcation of a spirit of patriotism and national self-consciousness. This characteristic reflects the difference in the history of the two countries. Denmark, by heroic efforts, has survived a series of catastrophes, from the British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 to the German occupation of 1940-5. Sweden was obliged to cede Finland to Russia in 1809, but received Norway in compensation. Although relations with Norway, until the union was peacefully dissolved in 1905, were never cordial, Sweden has been able to pursue a policy of neutrality for more than 150 years. Nor has there been any internal threat to her security. The Swedes are a homogenous people--the country does not contain potentially dissident minority groups. A country thus sure of its external and internal security can afford to develop pluralist institutions of social life; there is no call to close the ranks and present a united front in face of "the enemy."

This pluralism is a conspicuous feature of Swedish adult education. The People's College is only one among a variety of agencies and institutions, and the People's Colleges have been established by numerous movements--the farmers' movement, the temperance movement, the labour movement, the cooperative, and religious movements, for example. Each College has its own character and purpose. The impression that one receives is that they have not been founded out of any devotion to the abstract ideal of residential education (indeed, a few of the Colleges, including Birkagarden in Stockholm and Matarengi just south of the Arctic Circle, are non-residential), but because this is an effective way of furthering, in an educational context, the purpose of the particular movement.

Swedish People's Colleges have been more successful than Danish Folk High Schools in attracting young urban workers, probably because Sweden's economy is not predominantly agricultural, as is Denmark's. One other difference is that in Sweden the universities and university leaders have become involved in the People's Colleges, unlike the universities in Denmark. This may reflect the somewhat later, and perhaps more sophisticated establishment of the People's Colleges, or it may be the result of personal and geographical accident, such as the fact that the first College to be founded, in Hvilan, was near Lund University, and its first Principal, Leonard Holmstrom, was a teacher at the University.

Norway

In Norway also the first Folk High Schools, opened in the 1860's, were directly inspired by Grundtvig's ideas.[21] The centuries-old cultural links between Denmark and Norway were not broken when in 1809 the political tie was severed and Norway was annexed to Sweden. Grundtvig, indeed, in 1837, had proposed to set up a Scandinavian Folk High School in Norway, and an attempt to found such a school was made in 1850, but it proved too difficult to carry through.

Norway differs greatly from Denmark in size, geographical features, climate, and sparsity of population. From north to south the extreme distance is 1,100 miles, yet by the middle of the nineteenth century the total population had barely reached one million. Towns were, and are, few, and mostly small. In such a country, where the practical convenience of residential forms of education is obvious, Grundtvig's ideas found a fertile soil. Some of the earliest Folk High Schools were Grundtvigian in their religious outlook, but in all of them religious influence, whether Grundtvigian or more orthodox, was powerful. In Norway the National (Lutheran) Church and education are still the responsibility of the same government department.

However, in many of the Folk High Schools founded after 1880 the operative ideas were less religious than nationalist and political. From the start, Norwegians resented the involuntary subjection of their country to the Crown of Sweden. In 1814, by the Convention of Moss, Norway secured a large measure of independence, but in the field of foreign affairs, particularly, there was room for misunderstanding and friction. Increasingly, throughout the nineteenth century, Norwegians emphasized their independence, with nationalism becoming one of the mainsprings of the Folk High School movement, as it did in Denmark after the loss of Schleswig-Holstein. The movement has gone on from strength to strength. A proportionately larger number of students have attended Folk High Schools in Norway than in either Denmark or Sweden.[22] The statement that "The people of Norway are education-minded to an exceptional degree"[23] is amply borne out by the success of the Folk High School movement. Norwegians themselves have insisted that their national characteristics (described by a group of well-informed foreigners as self-reliance, versatility, and individual self-sufficiency)[24] are the inevitable outcome of the natural conditions of their environment, particularly the great distances, difficult communications, restricted habitable areas, and sparsity of population. Perhaps it is no accident that in Scotland, Norway's vis-a-vis on the other side of the North Sea, and another country characterized by a mountainous geography and sparsity of population, education and scholarship are traditionally held in similar high esteem.

Finland

In Finland the establishment of the first Danish Folk High Schools was followed with interest. In the 1860's plans were mooted for setting up similar schools in Finland, but they came to nothing at the time, partly because of the country's depressed economic state, and partly because all available teaching resources were required for the development of the elementary education system.[25] The first two Folk High Schools were started in 1889 under the stimulus of a growing sentiment of nationalism, the almost automatic response to the growing illiberalism of the Czarist government. During the six years of acute oppression (1899-1905) the Schools' curricula were forcibly purged of subjects dealing with political institutions and social questions. The position was eased after 1905 when new Schools were founded, including a number of Schools with a primarily religious purpose. Finland therefore reversed the order which had obtained in Norway, where the religious preceded the political and nationalist motive in the founding of Folk High Schools.

Scandinavia Generally

The Folk High Schools of the Scandinavian countries (including Finland) have been dealt with at some length, because they are often regarded as the exemplars on which most subsequent residential adult education institutions have been modeled. It is doubtful how far this is true. They are the products of particular cultural and historical conditions. Attempts to transplant them elsewhere have generally failed, though there is some evidence that the Vidyapeeths in India, which took their inspiration from the Folk High School movement, give hope of survival, particularly in Mysore.[26] The chief features of the Folk High Schools were, and are, a concern for character-formation rather than the imparting of knowledge; a clientele drawn largely from rural areas and almost wholly from the eighteen to twenty-five-year-old age group (i.e. the age at which more affluent young men and women, with the necessary preparatory higher education, are to be found as university students); a programme of five- and three-month courses geared to the seasonal needs of farming; and residence in a family atmosphere partly for its educative value, but also because in an area of scattered communities it is difficult or impossible to organize "further" education on any other than a residential basis.

Germany

The history of the Folk High School movement in Germany demonstrates again that it is in origin essentially a rural phenomenon and that it supports, and is dependent upon, the general acceptance of democratic principles. It is significant, too, that the two periods of development of the movement have coincided with periods of national crisis, following World War I and World War II. In all these respects the pattern of development in Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Germany presents common features.

It began in Germany with the establishment, during the first decade of the 20th century, of four Heimvolkshochschulen in Schleswig-Holstein based on the Danish model, but not until after the debacle of 1918 is it possible to speak of a Folk High School movement.[27] Its point of departure was the need to teach young men (again the emphasis is on the twenty to twenty-five-year-old age group) the idea and practice of democracy.

The first Heimvolkshochschulen were opened in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein. Rapidly, the movement spread to Thuringia and Württemberg, and later to Silesia, West Prussia, and East Prussia, until within a few years over fifty schools were in existence. They were essentially schools for the rural population, attracting townspeople to only a limited extent. Some appealed to a national or regional patriotism; others found their inspiration in religion. With their basically democratic tradition, the Heimvolkshochschulen fell foul of the Nazi regime. All were closed, the last in 1942, although by then it had already been perverted from its initial purpose.

Writing in 1929, Dr. Adickes thus accounted for the success of the movement in rural areas during the years immediately following World War I: "It is always in times of stress that the countryman is open to suggestions for education. His hard practical sense is apt to look for immediate gain. In prosperity the peasant can hardly grasp the meaning of education. But when enmeshed in economic difficulties, and despite all his work and duty done he is up against the pricks of ill-fortune, then he has a glimmering sense that other ways must be sought and tried."[28]

The re-establishment of Heimvolkshochschulen after World War II was one facet of German reconstruction undertaken in response to the political and economic needs resulting from defeat, widespread destruction, and the collapse of Nazism. Again it was at first primarily a rural movement; as Dr. Laack says, "*Es ist kein zweifel, dass dafur mitbestimmend die agrarische Struktur und das Vorherrschen des Bauerntums sind.*"[29] The provision of schools mainly for young urban artisans and white-collar workers was a later development. By the end of the 1950s there were even more *Heimvolkshochschulen* in existence than there had been in the days of the Weimar Republic. Some have religious affiliations, some are connected with such groups as farmers' associations or trade unions, some seek to present a particular *Weltanschauung*, some are "free,"[30] some are vocationally orientated; but whatever the form of their foundation they will fail, according to Laack, unless they remain true to the fundamental principles of *Gesellschaft* or *Offentlichkeit*.[31]

The establishment during the last fifteen years or so of the considerable number of residential adult colleges associated with the trade union movement merits more than a passing reference. The responsibilities of the unions have increased greatly, and in a number of basic industries in the Federal Republic the workers already exercise certain rights of "co-determination." The extension of these rights is one of the aims of the movement.

To enable trade unionists to acquire the training to discharge their responsibilities, the movement has equipped itself with a comprehensive system of residential education. The German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.) maintains six residential colleges in different parts of the Federal Republic. Another ten or twelve colleges are maintained by individual unions affiliated to the D.G.B. Their primary purpose is the training of members elected to honorary positions in the movement itself as well as of those who represent the trade unions on other bodies or social institutions (Labour Courts, Social Insurance Tribunals, etc.). A number of particularly able students are selected every year for further study at those universities which have made special provision for receiving trade union students. All this is fully financed by the unions.

It is difficult to think of any country where the development of residential adult education has been more plainly bound up with political and economic history than in Germany.

The Netherlands[32]

The first of the Dutch *volkshogeschulen* was established in a barn at Allardsoog as recently as 1932, by Jarig van der Wielen, the "father figure" of what has by now become a recognized movement. Van der Wielen farmed in America and Australia for a time, but returned to the Netherlands. Finding the life of the countryside badly hit by the economic depression, he determined to do something on the lines of the Danish Folk High Schools to bring new vitality into the rural areas. Much of the early work was with unemployed men. Unlike the Danish

Schools the Dutch Schools limit their courses to one or two weeks' duration. This difference is probably accounted for by two facts: the later foundation of the Dutch Schools, at a time when a system of elementary and secondary education was already firmly established, and the greater industrialization and urbanization of the Netherlands. The simple and companionable social life of the volkshogeschulen is much akin to that of Folk High Schools in the Scandinavian countries.

Britain

In the Scandinavian countries and in Finland it is possible to speak of a Folk High School movement. In Britain, and in England especially, various forms of residential adult education have been going on for nearly a hundred years, but they are too various and too unrelated to constitute a movement.

As has already been noted, residential education was characteristic of the two ancient and prestigious universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It was also characteristic of the "public" schools. Some of what were thought to be the socially and educationally desirable qualities of those schools were ascribed to the boarding principle. It might reasonably be assumed, therefore, that there would be a predisposition to favour residential forms of adult education, and such has proved to be the case.

The earliest form was the residential summer school. Many Oxford men of the generation of Jowett and T. H. Green exhibited a strong concern for the well-being of the educationally disadvantaged, a concern that sometimes sprang from Christian motives, sometimes from social and political principles. It was, perhaps, liberal and paternalistic rather than democratic. To the Vicar of the University Church at Oxford it appeared little short of scandalous that for half the year the University and the Colleges should stand empty and idle, whilst the great masses of people had no possibility of contact with higher education. He put it thus, in a letter to The Times in 1874:[33]

> The practical account of the matter is that Oxford is wanted by the University for six months in the year, and no more. Why, then, should Oxford be debarred from accommodating another university for the remaining six? . . . .Or ladies might be invited to form themselves into a university for six months. Or, again, to suggest the form which would require least change, why should not candidates for the Local Examinations be given the option of a residence in College rooms, under proper surveillance, for the four summer months which constitute the Long Vacation, to prepare for their examinations? It is quite possible that numbers of middle-class men would only be too glad to avail themselves of a University curriculum, could it be achieved

> by four months' residence continuously during the summer. Oxford could easily be provided with a staff of Tutors and Professors from its existing University to officer a second. And how cheap and how productive of work would that term be, which lasted a period of four months without a break, and whose days were such as to need neither coal nor candle, nor other light than that of the sun, to give twelve hours of study....

The Rev. E. S. ffoulke's letter neatly epitomizes an approach to cultural and social problems that seem typically Victorian: idealism and concern for the disadvantaged reinforced by economic considerations and utilitarian precepts. It was not until 1888 that his suggestion bore fruit. In that year, a Summer Meeting held at Oxford University set the pattern of university summer schools which was subsequently taken up by other universities. Since then summer schools have become, apart from the discontinuities caused by two world wars, a regular part of adult education provision in Britain. Michael Sadler, the young, enthusiastic, and energetic Secretary to the Oxford Delegates for University Extension (of whom his biographer says "He had leanings towards socialism in his early days")[34] was responsible for this development. In University Extension, which he wrote with H. J. Mackinder in 1890, it is recorded that "The idea of a general Summer Meeting of University Extension students was derived from the assembly held at Chautauqua in the United States.... By means of a Summer Meeting in one of the University towns, the Extension movement would be able to avail itself of the services of those resident teachers who, though friendly to the movement, are prevented by their University duties from taking any active part in it as lecturers... The students would enjoy the great advantage offered by the University museums, collections, and libraries, and would gain stimulus from their intercourse with one another. In short, the Meeting would introduce into University Extension the one element which, from the University point of view, it had been chiefly lacking - the element of 'residence'."[35]

Only two British universities, Manchester and Oxford, have residential colleges wholly devoted to liberal adult education, and both of them owe their origin, at least in part, to rewarding experiences of summer school work. A third, the joint responsibility of three local education authorities, one university, and the Workers' Educational Association, had a similar origin.

Another, now almost forgotten, development of the inter-war years, was the course, or more informal educational activity, held at a guest-house in the country. Some guest-houses particularly encouraged such courses. Often the proprietor or manager was a member of the Society of Friends, and sometimes the courses were related to the work of the National Adult School Union. The students were earnest, given to vegetarianism and tweeds, seeking an opportunity to retreat for a brief period from worldly cares in order to devote themselves to learning.

This was not an organized, nor an institutional movement, and it has left no written memorial. It is difficult to estimate its extent and influence, but it is part of the cultural background against which the emergence of residential adult education in England must be seen.[36]

The small group of long-term colleges, that is colleges offering courses of one or two years' duration, represents a variety of responses to different stimuli. The oldest, Ruskin, was founded by two young Americans, Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard, who had come to Oxford to study and, impressed with the merits of the residential College system, determined in 1899 to found a college in Oxford for workingmen. Vrooman was known in the United States as an "ultra-democrat," and the designation of the College in honour of Ruskin "in recognition of his lectures to working men and of his conception of a society in which wealth was no longer defined in narrow acquisitive terms" was an indication of the ethos that it was intended to foster.[37] Woodbrooke, at Selly Oak, Birmingham, was founded for members of the Society of Friends in 1903 (although it never limited itself to Quakers), and in part inspired the establishment, in 1919, of the Workers' Community of the Woodbrookers in the Netherlands.[38] Fircroft and Avoncroft were largely influenced by the Danish Folk High Schools, and Hillcroft was founded, in 1920, to do for women what Ruskin and Fircroft were already doing for men. The Catholic Workers' College at Oxford, dating from 1921, provides education in the social sciences for working men and women, with the particular intent of developing lay service in the Catholic community. Coleg Harlech in Wales (1927) and Newbattle Abbey in Scotland (1937) serve the special needs of those two countries.

All these long-term colleges, to which should be added the Co-operative College, now form an established part of the adult education system in Britain. Some of them continue a friendly association with Danish Folk High Schools, compared with which their courses are generally more academic - so much so that, for many students, the long-term colleges now serve as a preparation for a university career.

The short-term residential college movement grew out of the ferment of educational debate carried on during the last three years of the 1939-45 war, and experience of educational methods adopted in the armed services. In one sense all education in the services was "residential," but at the apex of the Army Educational Scheme were a number of special residential educational institutions, usually housed in country mansions and providing four-week courses, known as Formation Colleges. "Despite the shortages...something was achieved at these formation colleges, which were often attended by students who had never previously attended a residential educational course, that inspired those in charge of greater efforts and which gave them renewed faith in the efficacy of adult education.... What was certain was that these formation colleges provided the first opportunity a man or woman in the Army had had for a long time of being himself or herself. And, in doing that, they usually opened up new interests and gave back faith in themselves to thousands of soldiers and auxiliaries."[39] Since it was widely recognized that a man needs an opportunity of "being himself" in more than the regimented world of the army, the war-time experience had its influence on the development of the residential college movement. Many of those who had helped to direct the educational effort of the Services afterwards found their vocation in civilian adult education.

The debate about educational reform in England began long before the end of the war was in sight. Many bodies put forward their ideas about what needed to be done to improve the educational system. The discussion ranged widely, both in public and in private, around the theme, which found general acceptance, of "equality of educational opportunity." The Educational Centers Association issued a pamphlet on "People's Colleges for Residential Adult Education." Sir Richard Livingstone stressed the incompleteness of any educational system which failed to give due attention to the educational needs of adults. He singled out the Danish People's High School, with the pre-war German University, the English public school, and the scout and guide movements as the four notable achievements in education in the last hundred years. For Livingstone, President of a 400-year old Oxford College, one of the smallest and most intimate of the Colleges, the value of the residential element scarcely needed demonstration. "Education is atmosphere as well as instruction," he said; "it is not an assemblage of piecemeal acquisitions and accomplishments, but the formation, largely unconscious, of an outlook and an attitude."[40] It was a view of education that had its origin in his own schooldays at Winchester, the great boarding school founded by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in the fourteenth century, and was strengthened by his experience as an undergraduate at the Bishop's other foundation, New College, Oxford.

Another writer who argued for the establishment of residential adult colleges was H. C. Dent, Editor of The Times Educational Supplement, who, in a widely-read book published in 1942 and entitled A New Order in English Education, stated the case "for the periodic withdrawal of the worker from 'the daily round and common task' that he may examine thoughtfully and objectively the nature of the society in the governance of which he takes ... a part."[41] A Committee set up by the British Institute of Adult Education, which worked throughout the winter of 1942-43 drawing up proposals for post-war development, ended its chapter on institutional forms of adult education by saying that "... the residential college course for adults should be regarded as the crown of adult education for the community as a whole, in the same manner as the university course is regarded as the crown of the educational system which covers the earlier years of life."[42]

Much of the war-time debate about educational reform was carried on by influential officials (such as those who met periodically for private and informal discussión at All Souls College, itself a fifteenth century residential adult education institution) who had themselves attended public (boarding) schools and afterwards had been at one of the older universities. They assumed the value of the residential element in the education of children as well as of adults - perhaps overvalued it. It was a privilege which they believed should be more widely spread ("equality of opportunity") and not confined to the well-to-do classes. M.L. Jacks, Director of the Department of Education at Oxford University, summarized the merits of the boarding school thus: "There is no more closely-knit community than this, none in which the group-life is more immediately felt; simple in its own structure, it gives a child that structure of his life which he needs, and that sense of security without which he can never realize himself as a person. There is no more homogenous self-educating community." 43

With these as the operative ideals of the early 1940's it is not surprising to find that the Education Act, 1944, gave power to Local Education Authorities to run boarding schools. Nor is it surprising that the Government's White Paper of 1943, setting out the principles on which the new pattern of education should be based, contained the statement in relation to adult education: "In particular, there will need to be developed appropriate centers, including a number of residential colleges, which will not only provide the educational courses which the adult population may need, but will add to them the values associated with the life of a corporate institution."44 Residential education was in the air.

It came down to earth when the war was over. Within a few years some thirty residential adult education colleges had been established, a few by dedicated individual owners of country houses, two or three by universities, some by voluntary associations such as the Women's Institutes and the Y.M.C.A., but the majority by Local Education Authorities. Most of them have a rural situation, for the Englishman, who has perforce been a town-dweller for more than a century, still cherishes a vague assumption that his urban existence is only a temporary aberration. He seeks every opportunity to "return" to the country. That wise adult educator, Ross Waller, expressed the ideal thus in 1946: "Residential Colleges ought to be beautifully situated in rural surroundings, not too far from thickly populated areas, but yet secluded, and not within easy reach of cinemas and dance-halls."45 All the post-war colleges took over existing buildings, more or less suitably adapted. In contrast with the American, none occupies a purpose-erected building. As with the medieval monastery, there is an element of a retreat from pressing mundane affairs about the British residential adult college. Nevertheless, it is not an escapist institution, any more than the Scandinavian Folk High School, from which nevertheless it differs in that its students may be of any age up to sixty or seventy, and its courses are brief, rarely exceeding two weeks and often lasting no more than a weekend.

Another illustration of the extent to which residential adult education has become accepted is the number of stately homes which have been taken over as staff training centers by commerical and industrial undertakings, including the nationalised industries. There is probably an element of prestige here, but on the whole profits are more highly regarded than prestige. This development can be regarded as further proof of the general belief in the efficacy of residential forms of adult education.

U.S.A.

The residential adult education movement of the United States of America resembles the English movement in that its inspiration is derived from a variety of sources.

There was first Chautauqua, an emanation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with its summer assemblies, themselves the decorous successors to the frontier camp-meetings, often anything but decorous.[46] The first summer meeting for Sunday-School teachers was held in 1874 and lasted a fortnight. Like the early Danish Folk High Schools, Chautauqua was rooted in religion, but its purpose was more directly related to the work of particular Churches than the Danish schools; perhaps the latter could be said to find their sources in things of the spirit, whereas Chautauqua was concerned with matters of religion. They differed also in that Chautauqua appealed to adults of all ages rather than young adults only and that vocational interests, particularly of teachers, were catered for. After the turn of the century the religious enthusiasm on which Chautauqua was based began to wane. Psychology and the humanities, and later citizenship, were increasingly emphasized. This matched the trend toward secularization which was discernible also in other aspects of social life.

The influence of Chautauqua on the introduction of University Summer Meetings in England has already been mentioned. There was, however, this difference: the Summer Meeting was, originally, a withdrawal to the "educational appliances that are to be found... ready to hand at Oxford,"[47] but Chautauqua was an assembly, a coming-together, literally a convention, of men and women chiefly from small-towns, before the general development of great conurbations. Lack of transport would have prevented the emergence of the Chautauqua summer assembly at a much earlier date; changes in the pattern of social life, not least the development of new media of mass communications, finally reduced its significance as a means of education, though for many people its powers of attraction are by no means exhausted.

Another element, quantitatively small but having some influence in the development of residential adult education, particularly in the Mid-West, was the Danish-American Folk High School in Minnesota.[48] Of European immigrants into the United States in the last century some were escaping from political, religious, or economic oppression which they were only too anxious to have done with. Not for them any nostalgic hankering after the cultural patterns of the homeland; rather they wanted to become Americans as quickly as possible and to be assimilated inconspicuously and comfortably into their new environment. This was not generally true of the Danes who settled in Minnesota, amongst whom was Pastor Grundtvig, the son of Grundtvig who started the Folk High School movement in Denmark. At Tyler the immigrants set up a Folk High School, to which the name Danebod was given, with, as its first Principal, H. J. Pederson, who had himself attended the Folk High School at Ryslinge. The Danish-American Folk High School movement never became extensive, and no more than half a dozen schools were founded,[49] but Dr. Alford has shown how it affected subsequent developments, so that a direct path can be traced from Ryslinge to the University of Minnesota Center for Continuation Study.

The culture of Minnesota is traditionally of Scandinavian origin. To this part of the country it was possible to transplant the Danish Folk High School, though it did not prove a rampant growth; Mr. Jindra Kulich even describes it as "unsuccessful."[50] Elsewhere it scarcely took root, and the John C. Campbell Folk School in North Carolina and the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, both the creation of founders who had a clear vision of their own special goals, are scarcely more than the exceptions which prove the rule.[51] Indeed, Myles Horton of Highlander has specifically disclaimed any attempt to project the Folk High School from Denmark to America. The difference between the cultural conditions of Denmark and Tennessee would certainly have made it a pretty hopeless undertaking.

The most spectacular development of residential educational institutions in America has been the establishment, largely since World War II, of Centers for Continuing Education by universities and to a smaller extent by church groups. As in Britain, numerous commercial and industrial enterprises have also opened their own training and educational centers. The number of university centers begins to approach one hundred, with considerable variety in size, style, and programmes. One group, of which a particular study has been made, consists of the nine centers sponsored by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

These university centers for continuing education have no true counterpart in Europe. They are, for one thing, much larger and more costly than any European adult education center; only in an affluent society, where great capital resources are available, would it be possible to build such magnificent centers as, to name only three, those at Michigan State University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Oklahoma. Most of their clients are professional men and women, "educators, physicians and surgeons, public employees of professional standing, engineers, social welfare workers, dentists, pharmacists, lawyers "[52] who are seeking to continue their professional education. These centers are more akin to conference hotels than to the simplicity of the Danish Folk High School or the intimacy of an English residential college.

As Professor Boorstin has related, with his customary erudition and wit, the convention-going habit, based on America's other peculiar institution, the majestic and splendid hotel, was firmly engrained as part of the culture-pattern by the middle of the nineteenth century, and, he adds, "Within a century, the United States would be the most conventioning nation in the world."[53] The place which it holds in American life was stated thus by the International Association of Convention Bureaus in 1943: "Essentially, conventions and the organizations from which they are indistinguishable are a voluntary democratic regimentation of American life. They exist in all fields; in professions, crafts, and vocations; in religion, education, government, commerce, industry, benevolence and fraternalism; and directly or indirectly they involve the welfare, progress and activity of our entire population."[54]

University centers for continuing education admirably serve the needs of a great army of conventioneers and of educational conferees who require a convenient meeting place. But they admirably serve also the needs of the university in seeking to extend its influence amongst community leaders. "A university has great sources of knowledge," writes Professor C. O. Houle, "which can serve society and the continuing education center is one means by which this knowledge can flow to the people."[55] That the university should be of direct service to its community is an axiom of the American cultural pattern; in Germany, to some extent in the Scandinavian countries, and to a less extent in Britain, a university's function has been regarded in the main as being the conservation, tradition, and expansion of knowledge, with little concern about its application. The center has become the educational forum of twentieth century America, exciting places where men and women, often coming great distances, meet to exchange not merchandise, but ideas. They are places to which people go for stimulus, not for withdrawn contemplation; to be busy, not to be tranquil. Largely they concern themselves with continued professional education; with the communication of knowledge, not the formation of character. The cloistered virtues and the withdrawn, inward-looking communal life are no part of their stock-in-trade; nor could these qualities be characteristic of the American center, for they are not qualities to which high importance is attached by most Americans.

Conclusion

This survey of the development of residential adult education centers, brief and superficial though it is, shows that in each country they are an emanation of its historical tradition and culture. Except amongst a group of nations sharing in large measure a common culture, such as the Scandinavian nations, attempts to transplant a particular

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institution from one country to another have usually failed. Soil and climate are almost always unsuitable, or, to abandon metaphor, transfer of a culture trait is possible only when the trait is compatible with the "conscious and unconscious values, existing techniques, and current forms of social organization"[56] in the host culture. But because institutions are diverse, reflecting as they do cultural differences, there is, fortunately, no need to arrange them in a hierarchy of values. We do not have to say that the vigorous activity of M.S.U. is better, or worse, than the calm intimacy of Missenden Abbey in the Buckinghamshire countryside or the youthful life of Krogerup in Denmark. Each has its own peculiar merits and they could not be interchanged.

The fact that institutions could not be interchanged, however, does not preclude cross-cultural influence or fruitful contact between them. While at one level the culture of America has developed independently of that of Western Europe, at a profounder level we still all retain much of the influence of Judaism, Hellenism, and Christianity. We can still talk together, with considerable hope of mutual understanding and sometimes of agreement. Among the merits of residential adult education colleges is the opportunity that they provide for men and women from different countries to meet, and often genuinely to communicate with each other, in spite of different cultural assumptions, predilections, and prejudices. Because adult education constantly enjoins upon its participants the critical scrutiny of their own ideas and the imaginative and sympathetic examination of those held by others, the end result of an international encounter at a residential center may be a small step toward the modification and refinement of the culture to which the center itself owes its existence.

For while educational institutions are a product of the society to which they belong, conditioned by past and contemporary social values, they nevertheless have a certain autonomy in the world of ideas. Sir Richard Livingstone believed in residential adult colleges because he thought they would enhance the quality of social life in Britain as, in his view, they had already done in Denmark. It would be a fascinating exercise in social and intellectual history to attempt to trace the way in which, and the extent to which, residential colleges have helped to modify the cultures from which they have sprung. Such an enquiry falls outside the scope of this essay, and is indeed beyond the skills and means at my disposal, but it might be worth the attention of some student of adult education looking for a discursive research topic.

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Understanding Group Behavior

A Discussion Guide

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UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Readings

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, or 327 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1. Allport, ABC's of Scapegoating. 20¢.
2. Benne, et al., Group Dynamics and Social Action. 20¢.
3. Whitman, How Old is a Bigot? Free.

Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th Street, New York, New York.

1. Citron and Harding, Answering the Bigot. 15¢.
2. Objection Sustained. 15¢.

Henry Holt & Co., 600 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1. Newcomb, Hartley & Swanson, Readings in Social Psychology. Revised. $5.00.

Pocket Books, Inc., 1230 Sixth Avenue, New York 20, New York.

1. Lederer, All the Ships at Sea. 25¢.

Bantam Books, Inc., Dept. C, 830 West Haines Street, Chicago 22, Illinois.

1. Miller, Death of a Salesman. 25¢.
2. Crane, Fifty Great Short Stories. 35¢.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Introduction

Every person is born into and spends most of his life living in interaction with other people in groups of varying size and importance to him. This course is built upon a belief in the importance of that fact for an understanding of human behavior. It would be interesting to measure the importance of such interaction with groups by rearing a child in isolation, but an experiment of this sort, obviously, would be "inhuman." The use of this term itself suggests the value placed on contact with other people. There is occasional evidence, however, of the results of total isolation from human contact, as in the interesting case of the wild boy of Aveyron.

At Aveyron, France, at the end of the eighteenth century, a young boy of twelve was discovered living alone in a forest. Apparently he had been abandoned in childhood and had managed, somehow, to stay alive until he was old enough to forage for food and avoid death from exposure or wild animals. He was "a dirty, scarrred, inarticulate creature, who trotted and grunted like the beasts of the fields, ate with apparent pleasure the most filthy refuse, was apparently incapable of attention or even of elementary perceptions such as heat or cold, and spent his time apathetically rocking himself backwards and forwards like the animals at the zoo." A young Parisian doctor, Jean Itard, fired with the zeal of the new ideas of progress, asked for an opportunity to educate the child, brought him to his home and for five years attempted to teach him the fundamentals of social behavior, to speak and respond like an ordinary eighteenth-century Frenchman.

Victor, the wild boy, learned to speak a few words and to read simple phrases, but was never able to speak coherently. He developed a dumb affection for Itard and for his governess, but never acquired the complicated range of feelings toward others which is found in the ordinary person. His learned responses to commands, affection, injustice, etc., never rose enough above a primitive level for him to live in his society without someone to take care of him. There is some question of whether Victor might not originally have been mentally defective; if he was normal his development testifies to the remarkable effect of an ingenious and brilliant teacher, but indicates also that the ability easily to make appropriate responses to situations and to communicate to others, is acquired by people as they grow up in the family, among the neighborhood children, and at school.

Scientific attention to the influence of these groups on the individual, however, is of relatively recent origin. Modern psychology began the study of human behavior by investigating the physiology of the individual, the way in which sense impressions are received and acted upon, the connections between glandular activity and emotion, rates of motor activity, and so on. As far as possible the individual subject was studied under laboratory conditions in order to isolate whatever factors were being studied. As evidence accumulated, various explanations for individual behavior were offered. One theory stressed the importance of instincts, another the belief that because every act is a response to a stimulus, the study of each stimulus-response explains a person's behavior. Some psychologists see the individual as a bundle of traits (honesty, dependency, aggressiveness, etc.), each of which may be measured more or less independently. This idea is challenged by the belief that a response is made by the total organism, an integrated, constantly changing whole. More recently it has been suggested that behavior must always be considered in relation to the particular field or environment in which it takes place, that there are no sharp boundaries between the person and the environment with which he interacts.

As the influence of society on behavior became clearer to psychologists, the study of individual behavior and personality as they operate in social situations was marked off as a separate area, called social psychology, from which most of the material for this course was taken. The line which divides individual from social psychology is a reasonable one in a number of ways. The study of how people learn, for example, can be carried on in the laboratory by asking subjects to memorize nonsense syllables and noting the differences and range of learning. This, clearly, is very different from an inquiry into how a child, afraid of his classroom teacher, more shabbily dressed than his classmates, interested in tinkering with motors, learns about the fall of Rome.

All of these psychological approaches, and many others, contribute valuable material and ideas which must be seriously considered by the student who enters the field professionally. This course does not propose to train people to be psychologists and is therefore able to cut off a segment of the large, complex, and varied study of human behavior. There may be some value in indicating the reasons which dictated the selection of this particular segment:

> Experience in group interaction is part of the conscious lives of all mature people and can be brought to the material in a specific rather than a general way.
>
> If the desired ends of learning include a change in behavior as well as an understanding of it, the individual's role in group interaction is often easier to change than his personality. The problems of changing the behavior of groups to which the student may belong has been made the focus of the course, rather than a mere illustration of scientific findings.
>
> The adult's familiarity with group life enables him to examine critically methods by which the social scientist arrives at his conclusions. This is, of course, true also of individual psychology. But the group loyalties which might lead an individual to reject those conclusions counter to his beliefs are seldom as formidable as the powerful defenses with which he unconsciously protects his concept of himself.

Each unit of this course is based on a reading assignment and some aids to the student. The readings often contain terms which have a technical meaning for psychologists; such terms are defined in the study guide. Where it seemed desirable a brief outline of the readings is given to help the student organize his thinking about them. And, finally, several problems for discussion are outlined.

Through significant examples of social research and some illustrative stories and plays, the course offers the adult who is interested in examining his own group experience not only an understanding of that experience, but some tools which may help him increase its value. Most of the units are based upon reports of original research studies, attempts by a man or a team to search for a pattern in the welter of human actions in society. It is the hope of the course that the student will catch some of the excitement of that search.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

I

The Formation and Influence of Group Norms

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Formation of Group Norms

Reading: Sherif, "Group Influences Upon the Formation of Norms and Attitudes," Newcomb and Hartley, p. 249.
France, "Putois" in Fifty Great Short Stories.

Vocabulary:

autokinetic effect, the false impression of movement perceived by a person when looking at a small point of light in otherwise totally dark surroundings.
empirical, based on experience rather than theory.
hypothesis, a tentative explanation of a group or series of events.
introspection, looking into and thinking about one's own thought processes.
norm, established point from which deviation is to be noted.
polarization, a separation into two contrasting extremes.
primacy, being first in time or order of occurrence.
prototype, typical pattern which can be expected to be imitated or followed.
stereotype, a rigid and narrow concept, especially when widely held.
subjective, within the thinking person rather than outside him.
supra-individual, characteristic of group behavior in contrast to individual behavior.
temporal sequence, a succession of stimuli in a given time pattern.

One of the most striking things in the often difficult business of getting along with other people is the bewildering differences in opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. How unnatural and hilarious it is of the French to kiss one another's cheeks! How odd of the Hindus to feel the way they do about a juicy pork chop, and how disgusting is the Eskimo's delight in raw whale blubber! As for the immoral behavior of Samoan boys and girls—the less said about that the better. Even in our own society it is much more comfortable to be with sensible, intelligent people with rational views about capital and labor, women drivers, and religion. Sometimes it is a little difficult to imagine where on earth the other people, who have peculiar or dangerous notions about these matters, ever get these notions.

How is it possible that people can view the same situations and objects and react so differently? Consider the example of the pork chop mentioned. An American looks at the pork chop with his mouth watering slightly as he thinks of it sizzling in the pan. The Hindu sees it as a somewhat disgusting object and perhaps experiences a slight physical revulsion in his throat. It would be a false description of the situation to say that each perceives the meat and responds to it differently. They see at the same time both the meat and its meaning to them, and therefore the perceptions themselves are different. The backgrounds and historical factors which help determine how an individual interprets his perceptions are usually called frames of reference.

Psychologists have learned a great deal about how these frames of reference affect people's perception. If you would like to confuse yourself somewhat, try the following experiment:

> Fill three pails with water, one very hot, one very cold, the third warm. Put your left hand in the hot, right hand in the cold, and keep them there for a short time. Then put both hands into the warm water at the same time. Despite the evidence of a thermometer, you will perceive two different temperatures in the same pail.

One psychologist used the perception of color as a testing device with a color wheel, which is a small electric fan with many sheets of colored paper instead of blades; the sheets of paper can be adjusted to produce very fine gradations of color when the wheel revolves.

> Silhouettes of a donkey and a leaf were cut out of the same piece of grey paper. Subjects were shown the donkey cut-out and asked to adjust the color wheel until they were satisfied that a grey of the exact shade of the paper was reached. They were then asked to match the silhouette of the leaf in the same way. It was discovered that people put much more green into the grey which they select as the matching color for the leaf than the grey which they match to the donkey. Their previous experience with the usual colors of donkeys and leaves affected their perception of the color of the paper.

In still another experiment children of various economic levels were asked to judge the size of coins. The fact that poor children tend to judge them as larger than do the children of wealthy parents demonstrates how differences in value and need, as well as in what one expects, lead to differences in perception.

When the frames of reference that determine the interpretations of perception and experience are the same throughout a social group, they produce certain standards of conduct or belief which are considered normal in that group. Abstention from meat is a social norm of the Hindu culture; the inclusion of meat in the diet is an American norm. The first section of this course will deal with the ways in which social norms arise and operate in groups of which all Americans are a part.

Sherif's experiment is an attempt to get at the process by which social norms are formed. It may be helpful, as you read the description of how he planned the experiment, to think of what the world must look like to the infant. He has very few established ways of viewing his own experience or interpreting it; most of the things that happen to him are new and puzzling. Sherif has put his adult subjects in a somewhat similar situation and thus has effectively eliminated the variations in adult experience which otherwise would have directed the judgments of his subjects.

Note on Statistics: The graphs which illustrate Sherif's report are simple if the terms used are understood. They are a picture of what happens to the average judgment in inches established by a subject and carried into a group situation, and the average of group judgments as transferred into an individual session. Four terms are used in the text to describe how a series of judgments are measured. They can be demonstrated by one example, as in the following series of numbers:

2, 4, 5, 5, 6, 10, 13

If these were judgments originally given in random order, they would be arranged by the statistician in the sequence given above. Then the range is 11 (the difference between the lowest and the highest item, 13 minus 2), the median is 5 (obtained by finding the number that divides the series in half), the mean is 6.4 (obtained by dividing the sum of the series by the number of judgments), and the mode is 5 (the number which occurs most frequently).

Reading Notes

State the basic problem Sherif wants to answer.

State as briefly as you can what seem to be his most important conclusions.

Note from your own experience any evidence that might support any of the conclusions.

Evidence that might contradict them. (What might explain the contradictions?)

Problems for Discussion

There are numerous ways for determining issues for class discussion of the reading material. Some classes have found it useful to decide at the end of a period on some questions they would like to discuss the next week. This procedure has the advantage of focussing attention on specific aspects of the reading to be done during the week, and tends to increase class participation in the discussion.

The material on the formation of social norms suggests, for example, a number of possible questions. Does your own experience and your observation of other people confirm these findings about the way in which attitudes are acquired? How is it possible to resist both a too-easy acquisition of attitudes and a dogmatic clinging to those you have? How might some of the general shifts in public attitude, revealed occasionally by public opinion surveys, have been brought about?

Several such discussion questions are presented in greater detail below as suggestions which the class might find interesting.

I

Social scientists who have investigated the influence of newspapers on public attitudes have turned up some puzzling results. For example, an overwhelming percentage of U.S. newspapers were editorially against Roosevelt in his last three elections, with apparently little effect on the voters. Yet the influence of newspapers was significant in the shift of American attitudes toward the USSR in the postwar period.

What determines the frames of reference with which people decide (1) how to vote and (2) what to think about the USSR?

Discuss the differences between them in terms of the situation Sherif constructed to test the formation of social norms.

Develop a general statement which might be useful in predicting which social norms might easily be changed by outside forces, which norms might be very difficult to change.

II

The schools in the U.S. are periodically accused of being over-critical of what is sometimes called "The American Way of Life," and demands are made that certain text-books be banned and some teachers discharged.

What social norms are generally assumed to be included in "The American Way of Life?"

About which of these norms do people seem to be most sensitive?

What should be the role of the school—to develop critical attitudes toward them, acceptance of them, or something else?

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

The Pressure to Conform

Reading: Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgement," Readings, p. 2.
Milburn, "The Apostate," in Fifty Great Short Stories.
(Optional) Allport, "The J-Curve Hypothesis of Conforming Behavior," Readings, p. 231.

Sherif's experiment provides some clues for an understanding of how social norms, customs and shared beliefs arise. But such norms provide only a broad framework for the perceptions of a social group and leave a great deal of room for individual decision and action. Judgments have to be made in situations which are not as ambiguous as Sherif's experimental setting, and in which there is conflict either between individuals or indeed within an individual.

Despite these conflicts, however, groups of people often remain stable even though the group as a whole have to make "yes-no" decisions in order to function. Generally speaking we live in a world in which our expectations of how people will behave in a given circumstance is seldom disappointed. Such considerations, as well as the evidence of numbers of studies on propaganda have led to a stress on the importance of conformity to the written and unwritten laws of the group in peoples' behavior.

The readings in this unit modify somewhat the all-out view of conformity cited above. The Allport article suggests that there is a consistent law of conforming behavior. If one of the aims of a science is to achieve predictability Allport's hypothesis is well worth examining critically in terms of your own experience, for if it is reliable at all it provides us with a tool for predicting social behavior.

Asch's experiment on the influence of the majority gives a somewhat different and more precise picture of what happens in particular situations. Like all good research, however, the experiment raises more questions than it answers. The results indicate, for instance, that people do not automatically give in to a majority judgment if it conflicts with their own. But reflect, if you will, on the fact that very few of us are ever in a situation in which our judgment of reality is in such direct conflict with other people's; Asch has made it as tough as he possibly can for his subjects to yield to the majority. From this point of view one might say that if anyone at all yields in this situation the real power of a majority to sway individual dissenters to its opinion must be considerable.

The general problem of conformity to group norms is central to an understanding of the relationship of the individual to the groups of which he is a member, and class discussion of any of the issues involved is apt to be rewarding to the extent that the experiences of class members is made a sounding board for the concepts in the reading.

Reading Notes

Asch

1. Describe three different types of independent subject:

2. What accounted for the actions of those who yielded to the majority?

3. What were the effects of "non-unanimous majority" in each of the following cases:
    a. presence of the "true partner"
    b. withdrawal of the "true partner"
    c. late arrival of the "true partner"
    d. presence of a "compromise partner"

Problems for Discussion

I

In his conclusion Asch notes that with "diminishing clarity of the stimulus conditions the majority effect increases."

1. How do these conclusions relate to Sherif's?

2. If the class discussed Problem I in the last unit, what new conclusions might you come to on the basis of this further research?

II

One of the common problems which any social or community group faces is that of dealing with single members who hold out against what the majority of the group wants to do.

1. How does this situation play itself out normally in terms of both majority and minority behavior? Discuss some concrete examples.

2. From the point of view of the majority group, what might be a better way of handling it?

3. From the point of view of the dissenting individual or individuals, what might be a better way of acting?

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UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Group Decision and Social Change

Reading: Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," Readings, p. 459.

Vocabulary:

acculturation, the process of acquiring the standards of a culture.

action-research, a type of social research which begins with an hypothesis regarding social change, tests it in an actual situation, and modifies procedures by what is learned in the course of the research.

constellation, a number of qualities or entities related to one another in a pattern.

projective techniques, methods of personality study and therapy which employ ambiguous objects to which the subject responds and into which he "projects" his own qualities. For example, one interpretation of a vague sketch of two men might be that one is threatening the other; a second subject might say that one of the men is lending money to the other. In each case the subject is projecting his own attitudes and expectations into the people in the drawing.

The preceding units have described ways in which group membership influences the attitudes and beliefs of individuals, ways of which members are often unaware. Data such as we have examined often have a depressing effect on observers of the social scene, particularly if they are social philosophers who value the independence of the individual or the possibility of progressive, democratic social change. The question of the place of the individual will be a recurrent theme throughout the course, to whatever extent the class wishes to make it important. This unit will deal with one of the basically important pieces of research into the possibilities of taking the very properties of groups which tend to make them conservative, make them stick to accepted ways of doing things, and using these properties to facilitate change.

Lewin's article introduces two ideas which may be new to you and which invite thoughtful consideration:

1. The idea that the relationships within groups of people can be studied and analyzed to obtain principles which may be applied to all groups. These principles, taken together, constitute the dynamics of group behavior, much as the principles of motion can be used to describe the dynamics of a machine. Lewin, of course, would not make claims for such a simple analogy, but he did insist, in much of his work, that the rigor of the methods of physical science can be applied to psychological investigation and theory. Thus you will find some of the vocabulary of physics used in this article in a way which will probably be unfamiliar.

2. The idea of "action research" was introduced into social science largely through Lewin's influence. Instead of trying to reproduce the conditions of life in the laboratory, the method tries to bring the laboratory to the life situation. Action research generally works with people as they are, introduces changes into the real situation, makes observations (often with the help of the people who are being studied), studies the results and then perhaps introduces new changes for further evaluation and for the modification of the theory with which it originally set out. One very significant outcome of the action research approach has been its application by laymen to situations in which they themselves are involved. Groups of citizens, for example, who wish to improve their communities have done action research to discover the most effective ways of accomplishing their objective and to define the areas which require most immediate attention.

Reading Notes

Lewin's hypothesis:

In what way do his conclusions bear it out?

What do you think is his most important conclusion?

Note a situation in your own experience on which this conclusion might have a bearing on your actions.

How would your knowledge of Lewin's conclusions change your actions in that situation?

Problems for Discussion

The material on group decision suggests such questions as: In what channels other than food might the housewife be called "the gatekeeper"? What agencies in the culture recognize this function of the housewife? In what ways? In the light of Lewin's theory, how effective in changing attitudes toward minorities are posters in the street-cars, one-minute radio appeals, and other mass pressures? What may be the danger of using such pressures, if the level of conduct is not changed?

Many other issues may occur to you as worthy of discussion. Three problems are presented below in greater detail.

I

Lewin's concern is with the problem of social change. One of the catchwords of our era is that we live in a rapidly changing society which constantly demands the effort of making new adjustments to new situations and problems not of our own making. Lewin suggests that the time has come for us to step in and change society in directions we think are desirable instead of helplessly trying to keep up with changes arising from social forces we do not control.

1. As a group, agree on a social change which seems desirable.

2. Consider efforts which are now being made to effect the change. To what extent are they effective?

3. Using Lewin's theory of social change, what steps might be taken to effect the change?

4. Discuss the probability that the plan would succeed. Do Lewin's conclusions need qualification? How?

5. Does this theory of social change have any advantages over other ideas people have had about it? Disadvantages?

II

Most group decisions in everyday life are reached either by a majority vote or by the decision of a single individual, with the group "going along." We're all familiar with the way clubs, for example, will argue about a course of action and then, weary of endless discussion, will take a vote; often enough, at the next meeting the group faces the reproaches of the chairman for not having accomplished all that was decided.

1. How could Lewin's theory of group decision be interpreted to cover a case of this sort?

2. What can a group do to avoid the necessity of taking a vote, if it is known that the vote will be split? Is it a desirable thing to avoid? Why?

3. What can be done to avoid getting a minority who, because they disagree with a decision, will "drag their feet" when it comes to taking action?

III

If this class has had, by this time, an opportunity to decide on a method of procedure, or some other matter, it might be interesting to examine the process by which a decision was reached.

1. How were suggestions made, and who made them?

2. To what extent did the entire class participate in evaluating the suggestions made?

3. Did the final decision involve real agreement among the members of the class?

4. Did it succeed in changing or regulating the behavior with which it dealt? In what ways did it fail? Why?

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

II

The Influence of Special Social Groups

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Socialization

Reading: Mead, "Adolescence in Primitive and Modern Society," Readings, p. 531.
Miller, Death of a Salesman.
Readings, pp. 529-531.

Vocabulary:
asocial, not conforming to social norms or expectations.
introverted - extroverted, inward or outward turning of the individual's creative or psychic energy.
mores, traditions, beliefs, and taboos current in a group.

The course has, until now, focussed on some general principles of group life as they have been discovered in the explorations of the social scientist. This unit introduces a new theme: the consideration of several specific groups of which everyone is a member at one time or another. We shall here look at the influence of the family as a social group, and in subsequent units at work and community groups.

It is sometimes difficult to discuss the family in objective terms as a group which transmits the norms of the society to the growing individual. There are usually emotional overtones which derive from each person's experience with his unique family which often get in the way. For many members of an adult class such as this an objective view is doubly difficult to achieve, because they not only have been children but they are now parents. At the same time, an understanding of the role of the family, an awareness of the consequences of their own familial actions, is correspondingly more desirable.

The family is the primary group in our society, but because it is such a relatively simple group in a very complex society it is difficult to look at the job it does without reference to a number of other institutions which work with it. The whole picture is easier to see if we talk at first in general terms of the socialization of the child. Alison Davis defines the process in this way (from "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," Swanson, Newcomb, and

Hartley, Readings):

> Socialization is not simply the process of learning the specific skills of tool-using, language, and social organization, but implies as well the learning of these cultural behaviors as they are defined by a particular society. During this process of learning cultural behavior, which extends from infancy to death, the human organism likewise must learn to adjust emotionally to the impact of these social controls as presented to him by his parents, older siblings, teachers, employers, and other cultural surrogates. This central characteristic of human social learning, namely, that human beings always learn their social behavior in some type of relation to other personalities, and therefore in an emotional context, is the crucial principle underlying any systematic effort to understand adolescent social and personal development. That is, every adolescent's social behavior bears the marks of his personal history in relation to his parents, his siblings, his play-group, and his teachers, as well as the imprint of the cultural controls.

It is the intention of this unit to present three different views of the socialization of the American child, one which stresses the problems arising from the diversity of family life; another which points out the overwhelming dominance of one of these family patterns; and a third which portrays the tragic consequences of the demands made by the dominant pattern.

The following material by Lois Murphy (quoted from "Social Factors in Child Development," in Newcomb and Hartley, Readings, first edition) describes the underlying diversity in patterns of socialization.

The Cultural Plot

> Instead of one "cultural plot" whose features parallel the life history of most individuals in the culture, our western civilization has given rise to several whose outlines may be discovered if we note factors which may make children even in

infancy more "passive" or "active"; in the schools we encounter withdrawn and aggressive children; there are introverted and extroverted adults; and cultural disorders may arise from the self-punishing neurotic and from the criminal and gangster types. Everywhere we encounter the "haves" and "have nots"; the political "big shots" and the "little fellows"; the powerful and the powerless. Psychological differences may be related to the economic and political differences—the lower birth rates and big-city environments of many of the "haves" may be contrasted with higher birth rates and rural or small-town environments of many of the "have nots"; possibly also the "smart," perhaps emotionally thin, quality of adult "haves" versus the emotional warmth of many "have nots." Thus, some children get their socializing experience in a world of chilly adults, few children, and limited opportunity for child living, surrounded by power and prestige, while others are being socialized in a world of warm adults, many children, free space for childish exploration, and an atmosphere where power and prestige are a dream or do not exist at all. Regularized feedings, elimination, and control of activity probably go with the former, while the latter group are handled with more response to their needs, as indicated by crying, reaching, and later, demanding. Pressures to be polite, neat, truthful, sexually discreet, may be comparable in both groups, but in the "haves" life is 90 per cent socialization or pressure to conformity, and in the "have nots" perhaps 50 per cent, despite the fact that "they've got to mind" when commanded. Compare the child who is in a good school until three o'clock, goes to Scouts, music lesson, dancing lesson after school, with the child who is free to explore and play as he likes after school and on Saturdays and Sundays.

At the same time, many children in the big cities who belong to "have not" families suffer the deprivations of metropolitan life without the compensations of family warmth that some rural children share. Where to the deprivation of city deserts there is added rejection or hostility from parents and exposure to delinquent gangs in the streets, asocial patterns are almost inevitable, though material deprivation in well loved rural children has no antisocial effects that we know.

To these differences are to be added the differences in parent attitude and behavior, rooted partly in subcultural differences between Italian, Spanish-American, Jewish, New England, and Park Avenue or Main Street "Anglo-Saxons." Grant Wood's "American Gothic" parents, compared with Spanish-American parents like those in Rivera's paintings, portray these differences more eloquently and perhaps more significantly than do the measurements of psychologists who seldom venture into the areas where differences are dramatic.

Along with these differing basic plots, with their varying patterns of gratifying, loving, depriving, punishing, constraining, stimulating or allowing free rein, one encounters general forces. In addition to the movies, radio, comic books—which are all things to all children, as we mentioned above—the schools with their shared socializing patterns of song, baseball, and the three R's, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish church groups, cut across power groups and national and geographic subculture areas. Yet when at eighteen young people from different families and states come together in the big universities, the common language learned in the public schools, the movies and the cheap magazines is not so powerful as to hide the differences still carrying over from family and subculture breeding. A Baptist from Kentucky, a Mormon from Salt Lake City, an Irish Roman Catholic from Boston, can communicate at the University of Chicago, to be sure, but they have much to learn from each other.

In a complex culture with many variations, it is inevitable that one aspect of the child's social development should include coming to terms with the particular subculture conflicts to which he is exposed. Whether he is taunted by the children from a traditional school that "we learn more than you do at progressive schools," or by the Southerners who surround him in recess the first day he arrives from Massachusetts, calling him a "damyankee," or by the white children who yell "chocolate-drop" as he tried to slide by unobserved, or merely by the children across the street who say "your mother isn't strict enough, she never spanks you," the problem of living with differences is a major one for many children in our melting-pot culture.

Since in many or most areas in the United States children are shielded from observation of birth, death, even severe illness, or the anxieties of adults, these "realities" of life are less real to the average town or city child than his own little world of winning the next baseball game or the spelling match. Add to this the fact that considerable school experience is directed toward ego enhancement or depreciation, with marks, stars, honors, etc. We consequently find a social or cultural pattern in which reality is underplayed in favor of the ego of the growing individual—a situation not calculated to keep social relations in perspective during the growth process. Add further the fact that currently more and more is done for children, and less and less with them—in the sense in which the farm child develops a sense of participation through his inevitable and necessary chores. All this provides the basis for an increasingly tenuous relation of the individual to the group.

While there is general agreement about the existence and influence of the elements which Murphy has pointed out above, there is another view which singles out one of these patterns as a dominant one. Not only does Alison Davis take this view in the following material cited, but note that he disagrees rather sharply with the meaning which Murphy attaches to the insistence on conformity of the middle class family. For this point of view, read p. 529 (bottom of second column) to p. 531, in Readings.

The insight of the artist presents an entirely different kind of data. As you read Death of a Salesman you might consider two questions: do the data of the social scientists help the reader understand the complex characters and action of the play, and does the artist's dramatic perception of human relationships validate, or enrich or possibly contradict the scientific theory based on objective data?

Problems for Discussion

The material on socialization suggests such questions as: What accounts for the difference in attitudes and standards between Bernard and the Loman boys? Is there any evidence in the play that Willy had a choice of standards and attitudes? Why may the family, more deeply and permanently than other groups, affect the child's emotional security and attitudes he forms? Can it be assumed from Murphy's description of the difficulties encountered by economically secure city children that poverty carries with it a better chance for a "good" upbringing?

Several such discussion questions are presented below in greater detail as suggestions which the class might find interesting.

I

The three writers agree that there are certain psychological penalties attached to conforming to middle class socialization patterns.

1. How do their views differ?

2. What are the consequences to the individual of refusing to conform to such a pattern?

3. Are there any alternatives to either adapting or refusing to adapt?

4. What social groups and forces seem to be involved in maintaining this pattern? Could they be changed? How?

II

Murphy points out that common language learned through mass media and the public schools often only disguises differences carried over from family and sub-culture breeding.

1. As social policy, what are the advantages of covering up or eradicating entirely these different cultural plots?

2. The disadvantages?

3. In which direction does current social policy, e.g., the McCarran Act, seem to be going?

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Reference Groups

Readings: Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley, Readings, p. 410.
Newcomb, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups," Readings, p. 420.
O'Hara, "The Graven Image," in Fifty Great Short Stories.
Film, Our Invisible Committees.

Vocabulary:

atypical, not typical.

critical ratio, a measure of the significance of a difference between two averages. A critical ratio of two or more is usually taken to mean that the difference is not due merely to chance.

level of aspiration, the level at which a person characteristically sets his goals, compared to his actual ability. Thus, some people of great ability consistently underestimate how much they can achieve because they are afraid of experiencing failure in their own eyes.

Likert-type scale, a questionnaire so constructed as to give the respondent five or more possibilities in answering each question. The choices usually are: Strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree.

negativistic, in this context, means resistance to becoming part of community activities.

The socialization process, as we have seen, usually succeeds in providing the individual with a very complex frame of reference, perhaps with conflicts within it due to contradictions between cultural sub-plots and the dominant middle class pattern.

As people move away from the dominance of the family they begin to relate to other groups, which often shift and change their attitudes or standards somewhat. This unit deals with the general question of how people's attitudes are related to groups and the difficulties which sometimes arise because of it.

The general problem is set by Kelley's article, which merits careful reading. Newcomb's study of Bennington College demonstrates how the theory works out in detail. Bennington, as you may know, is a school for girls most of whom are from well-to-do families. During the 'Thirties, it was widely known as an experimental college, applying some of the theories of progressive education to college-level work. Its faculty, as Newcomb points out, was particularly interested in getting the students to become aware of social problems, and the students were widely regarded, approvingly or disapprovingly, as social progressives.

The study was done during the 'Thirties, when the lines which divided conservative from non-conservative were relatively clear cut. Thus Newcomb's scale for determining Political and Economic Progressivism (PEP) could rely on such issues as the Spanish Civil War, the New Deal, etc.

John O'Hara's short story, "The Graven Image," is a short and dramatic example of how reference groups operate. It would be a very useful exercise to determine the character of the various groups to which the behavior of the characters can be referred.

Reading Notes

(Kelley)

1. Define a reference group.

2. Note an example of the different kinds of reference groups which Kelley distinguishes.

3. List, under the examples you chose, some ways in which the groups fulfill their normative function and their comparison function.

(Newcomb)

1. How did Newcomb measure:

    a. conservatism—

    b. prestige—

    c. attitude to community—

    d. awareness of community norms—

2.

	Type	Personality traits	Relation to Community	Other reference groups they relate to
a.	Cons., aware and negativistic	stubborn, overdependent	negative	positive to family, reinforces conservatism
b.				
c.				
d.				
e.				
f.				
g.				
h.				

Problems for Discussion

The material on reference groups suggests such questions as: How might the adjustment of conservative students differ if they came into a college atmosphere that was as decidedly conservative as Bennington was nonconservative? In an ordinary American community which groups and persons are often important in enforcing community norms? What may account for the variation between different communities in the pressure to comply with norms?

Several such problems are presented in greater detail as suggestions which the class might find interesting to discuss.

I

In the film which you will see in class, Our Invisible Committees, a number of pressures operating on two of the group members are identified.

1. Which members of the "invisible committees" probably represented community pressures?
2. Which represented personal pressures?
3. What difficulties resulted from having the members come as official representatives of their organizations?
4. What might the leader have done to make the group more effective?

II

Young people are reputed to go through a cycle of radicalism to conservatism as they grow older.

1. What guesses about this process can be made on the basis of Newcomb's study?
2. In what ways do people change their attitudes and standards other than the one highlighted by Newcomb?

III

Examine the attitudes of a panel of class members by the following procedure:

1. Fill out the three questions on the Community Cases questionnaire.

2. Arrange the scores on the board so that total scores are ranged from low to high.

3. Select two students at the low end, two at the high end, and appoint them a discussion panel.

4. Have the panel discuss for 15 minutes one of the cases.

5. Identify, from what they said, groups to which their attitudes can be referred, and ask the panel members for confirmation of any such identification.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

On the Job

Reading: Homans, "Group Factors in Worker Productivity," Readings, p. 637.
(Optional) Katz and Kahn, "Some Recent Findings in Human Relations Research in Industry," Readings, p. 650.

One reference group which is common to almost everyone is the group of people he associates with in earning a living, a group which the managers of industry as well as the organizers of labor have over a long period of time tried to understand. It is interesting that union organizers from the time of the nineteenth century have recognized the importance of group morale, group relationships, to their work. This may be due to the fact that union organization in its early years was influenced by radical thinkers who saw unionism as a way of organizing the working class, as a class, into a politically potent social group.

Until recently, however, industrial management generally viewed its workers as individuals and attempts to increase productivity were based on individual psychology. Early experimental psychology, for example, had demonstrated that animal behavior could be manipulated by varying rewards and punishments in an exact way. Industrial relations experts applied this by setting up incentives for individuals, expecting them to respond in a clear-cut fashion to these rewards.

The Homans article points out why these expectations often do not work. Some years ago a long and intensive study of worker productivity was begun at the Hawthorn plant of Western Electric. The research team thought that by varying factors which affected worker fatigue, such as lighting, speed of operation, etc., they would discover how production could be increased. They started by varying the illumination in the plant, increasing the amount of lighting by definite steps. The rate of production increased as the amount of lighting increased; the trouble was that productivity did not decrease when the illumination was brought down to its previous level.

Clearly, fatigue was not the only important factor operating in the situation. In the illumination experiment, the workers seemed to be responding not to changes in lighting but what they saw as an interest in their well-being on the part of management. This theory was then tested by the methods described in the article.

Reading Notes

1. What are the three important factors in the increase of productivity of the girls in the Relay Assembly Test Room?
2. What norms (not practices) of the men in the Bank Wiring Observation Room interfered with productivity?
3. What form of supervision does the Relay Assembly Test Room suggest might be most advantageous to management?

Problems for Discussion

The material on industrial organization suggests such questions as: How do the Relay Assembly and the Bank Wiring groups compare in regard to (1) productivity (2) morale (3) discipline and (4) attitude toward management? How do these differences reflect what the writer calls "a conflict between the technical organization of a plant and its social organization? What is meant by the comment, ". . . tried to devise an experiment which would not be radically altered by the process of experimentation itself." Was the Relay Assembly experiment a failure, as this implies? The economist Veblen argued that there is an "instinct for workmanship" in all men and that the introduction of mass production techniques has frustrated the working man. Does this study support Veblen's view?

Several such problems are presented below in greater detail as suggestions which the class might find interesting to discuss.

I

You may remember that Lewin, in his article on social change, analyzed social processes in terms of key figures in the flow of goods or attitudes, and called these figures "gatekeepers."

1. In Hawthorn, what gatekeepers, in regard to productivity, are assigned by management?
2. Who are the real gatekeepers?
3. What might Lewin consider an effective way of changing the work habits of the men in the Bank Wiring Room?
4. What factors would he consider necessary to analyze in order to achieve a change?
5. What argument might a labor union make against such a process of change?

II

The social scientist's job ordinarily is to find relationships between people and institutions in society, not to pass judgment on them. The class, however, has doubtless passed judgment of one sort or another on the men in the Bank Wiring Room.

1. What reasons are there for saying that their behavior is "bad" or "wicked"?

2. What reasons for saying that it is "good" or "justified"?

3. Where do these judgments come from?

4. Is the behavior of the men good, or bad?

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Group Membership Roles

Reading: Bradford, et al., Group Dynamics and Social Action.

This unit has a double purpose:

1. To acquaint the class with a method for analyzing group productivity and its relation to member roles, and

2. To give the class a chance to evaluate itself at approximately the halfway mark of the course.

In working out the following exercises you will have to think carefully about the way the class has been operating, and your own role in it. It is suggested that the ratings be based on the last class meeting as the one which is probably freshest in everyone's memory. Be sure to bring your completed rating sheet to class. (The terms and definitions are adapted from materials developed by Naval Conference research, University of Michigan.)

1. To what extent were the participants getting the meaning of each others' statements?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
They were "talking past" each other; there was much misunderstanding								Communicated directly with each other		

(Note: This rating should not only include trouble with particular words, but more general conceptual processes, as differences in level of concreteness, style of expression, etc.)

2. To what extent did the participants have opportunity to talk?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Never had opportunity to talk			Seldom had opportunity to talk			Usually had opportunity to talk			Had every opportunity to talk	

(Note: In some groups, this can be judged by the number of times persons seemed eager to get the floor but couldn't, and the number of simultaneous participations. In other groups, the participants have already learned not to try to talk because of the dominance of a few members; hence, although things need saying, the participants had little opportunity to say them.)

3. How interested was the group in the problems discussed?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Uninterested										Extremely interested

(Note: This rating should not merely tell how task-oriented the group proved to be or how hard it worked on the problems; it should reflect the general intensity level of attention given by the group to the problems considered.)

4. How was the meeting paced?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The meeting dragged; always seemed in a stalemate										Moved rapidly from point to point; there was much movement

5. To what extent did the members of the group seem to like each other personally?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
There was much personal antagonism and hatred				They were neutral to each other						They liked each other very much

6. How supportive and accepting was the group of its members?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The group was highly critical and punishing										The group was permissive and highly receptive

(Note: Part of the evidence for this rating is obtained from the way in which the participants faced the total reality of the situation and said what they really felt.)

7. How pleasant was the affective atmosphere of the group?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Very unpleasant; quarrelsome, critical and unfriendly										Very pleasant; personable, warm, and enjoyable

8. To what extent were the members pushed around by the group's leadership?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Leadership was very arbitrary and restrictive										Leadership was very permissive

9. To what extent did the group seem to be frustrated?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

There was no frustration	There was much frustration

(Note: This frustration may occur in the area of ego-satisfactions; authority; problem-difficulty; procedural difficulty; in the diversity of interests.)

10. How cohesive did the group seem to be?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Group seemed very disrupted; a mere collection of individuals	There was much group unity

(Note: By cohesiveness is meant the extent to which the group is bound, the individuals being closely knit to each other. The cohesiveness of the group is felt by the members as its "weness"; the participants have strong feelings of belonging.)

11. To what extent was the group structured into cliques?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

No cliques	Distinct cleavage

(Note: A clique is a sub-group of persons who somewhat consistently support each other and commonly oppose outsiders in conflicts running across problem areas.)

On the following list of group member roles, check those roles which are present in our own class. If you check one as present, be sure that you are thinking of a specific person or persons who assume that particular role.

"Individual" Roles

Present	Absent	
		a. The aggressor may work in many ways—deflating the status of others, expressing disapproval of the values, acts or feelings of others, attacking the group or the problem it is working on, joking aggressively, showing envy toward another's contribution by trying to take credit for it, etc.
		b. The blocker tends to be negativitistic and stubbornly resistant, disagreeing and opposing without or beyond "reason" and attempting to maintain or bring back an issue after the group has rejected or by-passed it.

Present Absent

c. The recognition-seeker works in various ways to call attention to himself, whether through boasting, reporting on personal achievements, acting in unusual ways, struggling to prevent his being placed in an "inferior" position, etc.

d. The self-confessor uses the audience opportunity which the group setting provides to express personal, non-group oriented, "feeling," "insight," "ideology," etc.

e. The playboy makes a display of his lack of involvement in the group's processes. This may take the form of cynicism, nonchalance, horseplay, and other more or less studied forms of "out of field" behavior.

f. The dominator tries to assert authority or superiority in manipulating the group or certain members of the group. This domination may take the form of flattery, of asserting a superior status or right to attention, giving directions authoritatively, interrupting the contributions of others, etc.

g. The help-seeker attempts to call forth "sympathy" response from other group members or from the whole group, whether through expressions of insecurity, personal confusion, or depreciation of himself beyond "reason."

h. The special interest pleader speaks for the "small business man," the "grass roots" community, the "housewife," "labor," etc., usually cloaking his own prejudices or biases in the stereotype which best fits his individual need.

Group Building and Maintenance Roles

a. The encourager praises, agrees with, and accepts contributions of others. He indicates warmth and solidarity in his attitude toward other group members, offers commendation and praise and in various other ways indicates understanding and acceptance of other points of view, ideas, and suggestions.

Present **Absent**

b. The harmonizer mediates the differences between other members, attempts to reconcile disagreements, relieves tension in conflict situations through jesting or pouring oil on the troubled waters, etc.

c. The compromiser operates from within a conflict in which his idea or position is involved. He may offer compromise by yielding status, admitting his error, by disciplining himself to maintain group harmony, or by "coming half-way" in moving along with the group.

d. The gate-keeper and expediter attempts to keep communication channels open by encouraging or facilitating the participation of others ("we haven't got the ideas of Mr. X yet," etc.) or by proposing regulation of the flow of communication ("why don't we limit the length of our contributions so that everyone will have a chance to contribute?," etc.)

e. The standard setter or ego ideal expresses standards for the group to attempt to achieve in its function or applies standards in evaluating the quality of group processes.

f. The group-observer and commentator keeps records of various aspects of group process and feeds such data with proposed interpretations into the group's evaluation of its own procedures.

g. The follower goes along with the movement of the group, more or less passively, accepting the ideas of others, serving as an audience in group discussion and decision.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Leadership and the Social Climate of Groups

Reading: Lippitt and White, "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life," in *Readings*, p. 340.

Vocabulary:

intercorrelated traits, personal characteristics which generally occur together and are assumed to be related to one another.
internalize, to respond internally, rather than give outward expression to a reaction.
laissez-faire, permissive and non-directed.
scapegoating, a reaction to frustration or fear expressed by hostility toward a person or group not connected with the source of the difficulty.
sociometry, the measurement of relationships, such as friendship or dominance, within a group of people.

Note on Statistics: *Statistical significance* is a test of whether an observed difference might have occurred purely by chance. *Reliability* is a measure of "whether techniques which are supposed to be measuring the same thing are actually doing so."

The functional role in a group which is usually seen as most important is the leadership role. Anthropologists and sociologists make the claim, for instance, that no human group known to them, whether in an American city or the Andaman Islands, is without leadership of one kind or another. The leadership role, then, however it may operate in any given group of people, is ever present.

Partly because of this fact there is a popular tendency to define the role as operating in only one way, even in such a complex culture as our own. People have expectations about how leaders *should* behave, as indicated for example in the practice of some schools in rating students for "leadership" without bothering to define the term. The next unit will deal with the wide variety of leadership behavior actually found in our society, behavior which from one point of view can be seen as a response to the situation in which the leadership occurs. This unit describes an experiment which appears to prove that the reverse is also true, that the way in which leaders act has a great deal to do with the behavior of the group.

In order to test the assumption that "styles of leadership" produce different group behavior the experimenters had to define what styles they wanted to deal with. The terms *democratic*, *authoritarian*, and *laissez-faire* were convenient tags for the roles which they wanted the experimental leaders to perform and not necessarily an accurate description of real leadership patterns in life.

Notice that there is implicit, also, in the study an assumption that certain qualities such as initiative, absence of fear and frustration, friendliness, independence, and co-operation are desirable qualities for groups and individuals to have. This is not an unchallengeable assumption should any members of the class care to criticize it, but it might be well to hold any objections aside until you have read the complete report.

Reading Notes

What difference did the groups under different types of leadership show in: (1) attitude toward the leader, (2) satisfaction with the situation, (3) co-operativeness, (4) group initiative, (5) group frustration, (6) unsupervised activity?

	Authoritarian	Laissez-faire	Democratic
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

Problems for Discussion

This unit raises such questions as: Why does the authoritarian leader bestow praise and approval more than other leaders? If leadership and social atmosphere affect individual behavior, how might Reilly's home environment be changed to make Reilly a more socially acceptable boy?

Several such problems are presented in greater detail below as suggestions which the class might find interesting to discuss.

I

The usefulness of the study depends on the validity with which its conclusions can be applied to life, and therefore to some extent on whether ordinary social groups can be characterized by the same climates as the experiment set up.

1. On the basis of personal observation and experience, what different social climates are generally found in American groups such as the family, church, school, fraternity lodge, political club, etc.?
2. Are these climates consistent?
3. Who is responsible for creating atmospheres in these groups?
4. Have any of them undergone significant change in recent years?
5. Is further change desirable? If so, how might it be accomplished?

II

Despite the assumption that we live in a democratic society (an assumption so widely held that most citizens seem to be prepared to go to war to defend that particular concept of society) there is very often a lack of agreement about what democracy is—what kind of organization, set of forms or procedures are involved in a society which we could call "democratic." In the last political campaign one candidate denied altogether that we were a democracy.

1. Without debating the philosophical points involved, try to agree on some conditions for a democratic society

2. What elements in modern life make these conditions difficult to achieve?

3. Assuming that these conditions define a democratic society, are we getting more or less democratic?

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Leaders and Followers

Reading: Whyte, "Leader-Follower Relations in Street Corner Society," in Readings, p. 355.
Lederer, All the Ship's At Sea, pp. 26-56, 161-73.
Sanford, "The Follower's Role in Leadership Phenomena," in Readings, p. 328.
Benet, "The Curfew Tolls," in Crane, Fifty Great Short Stories.

Vocabulary:
modal pattern, the most common pattern, one found more frequently than any other.
syndrome, a combination of symptoms or factors which occur together so often that an interrelationship among them can be assumed.

This unit presents a wide variety of leadership phenomena, so wide that the need for a complex theory of leadership is clearly indicated. Long before the problem of leadership engaged the interest of the social scientist, people had considered it, of course. Until recently, however, these considerations were generally analyses of specific political leaders and the ways in which they operated; Machiavelli's ultra-realistic advice on leadership, in The Prince, is probably the best known of the older works of this kind.

The earliest psychological attacks on the problem assumed that people who were leaders had specific leadership traits, that leadership, therefore, was based on individual personality. This was the assumption which many historians (for example, Carlyle) made at about the same time.

Sociologists, and some later historians, took a very different view. It is the situation, they suggested, not the force of individual personality, which creates the condition for leadership and evokes the necessary person at the right historical time. It is a point of view which Marxism particularly espoused, for example, and you will find in the Benet short story a wryly amusing suggestion of how this situational theory might have worked out.

Most of the recent study of leadership has recognized both of these factors as being significant, and have added still further to the complexity of the problem by paying attention not only to political leadership but to the whole range of leadership phenomena in group life. Lippitt and White's experiment which we considered last week presents a totally new way of looking at leadership; Sanford's study in this unit suggests an approach to a new area, the shifting patterns of needs among followers. (For an extremely interesting example of a specific analysis of a leader-follower relationship, see Lasswell's "The Psychology of Hitlerism as a Response of the Lower Middle Classes to Continuing Insecurity," in Readings, p. 171.)

All of these examples by no means exhaust the variety of recent approaches to the phenomenon of leadership. They do represent some, at least, of the factors of which one should be aware, and which may be importantly present in situations facing the ordinary individual.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

IV

Intergroup Relations

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Intergroup Relations: Approaches

Readings: Allport, ABC's of Scapegoating, pp. 1-50.
Jackson, "The Lottery," in Crane's Fifty Great Short Stories.

This unit is the first of three which deal with relations between groups. Both scientific investigation and popular interest have focused attention in this area on prejudice. A number of very different approaches to studying the problem have been adopted and a mountain of material has been produced.

It would be impossible in this course to cover all, or even a majority of the significant scientific theories of prejudice, in any deepseated way. To follow the usual pattern of the course by presenting one or two readings might well mislead the student into believing that the final answer has been found. Instead, Allport's popularized account of the significant factors in the study of prejudice has been assigned so that a general view of the situation might be obtained. The next unit presents some examples of efforts to measure and describe prejudice, and the last deals with problems of combatting it.

Note that all of the readings you will be doing in this three-unit section make two extremely important assumptions:

1. There are no significant differences physiologically between races or groups of men; the differences among groups are always greater than the differences between groups.

2. The mainsprings of prejudice are in the prejudiced, not in the groups toward whom their prejudices are directed. This is an assumption about which there is no longer any question in view of the mountain of evidence which has been amassed for it.

The views of prejudice which social science offers have not yet been satisfactorily integrated and the welter of motives and processes therefore tend to bewilder the student who first comes in contact with them. The following scheme is presented as one way of looking at the whole problem of prejudice, as a way of finding anchoring points for the various points of view you will encounter.

A. A number of studies in this field have concentrated on the individual personality. The questions here are: what kinds of person are prejudiced, what kinds are not? What personality factors seem to account for this difference? What does prejudice do for the person who has it?

B. Other studies focus on the face-to-face groups to which the person belongs. Do people catch prejudice from the groups to which they belong? If they do, how does it happen?

C. Still others find the source for prejudice in the society. Why does each society permit hostility toward some, and not toward others? Do social patterns contribute to the development of certain kinds of prejudice-prone personalities? To the development of stereotypes toward which hostility can be directed?

Reading Notes

1. List the motives for scapegoating which Allport mentions, and think of an example of each.

2. List the sources of race prejudice which seem to you most importantly operating today in the United States.

3. What types of scapegoaters do you recognize among the ones Allport lists?

   If you know one of them well, describe him briefly.

Problems for Discussion

I

The scene of "The Lottery" is obviously neither in the present nor the past. The author may have been guessing at a situation which might arise after a catastrophic atomic world war.

1. If so, what is the lottery supposed to accomplish as an institution?
2. How does the story indicate that it has succeeded in its purpose?
3. In what less violent ways might the same purpose be served?

II

A famous anthropologist once persuaded a writer of children's books to write one in which a mother was portrayed very unsympathetically and was shown coming to a violent end.

1. What reasoning may have prompted such a book?
2. Why did the book fail to find a publisher?

III

It is only in recent years that the problem of reducing prejudice has seemed an important one to a great many people. Although the theories we have been examining have not yet been integrated, they do present evidence for the existence of known factors underlying prejudice.

1. In view of these factors, what considerations would have to be taken into account by any attempt to reduce prejudice?
2. What general principles from previous studies taken up in this course might be useful in any program.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Intergroup Relations: Dimensions of the Problem

Reading: Katz and Braly, "Verbal Stereotypes and Racial Prejudice," in Readings, p. 67.
Campbell, "Factors Associated with Attitudes Toward Jews," in Readings, p. 603.
ACLU report on the Peoria Street Disorders (attached).

To have a notion of the causes of social hostility, which were discussed in the last unit is to know only the potential for intergroup tension. This unit presents some examples of studies which have been directed toward finding out what kind of a problem faces our particular society, what attitudes exist and in what proportion of the population.

The Katz and Braly study is an extension of the work which was done by Bogardus some years ago, in which subjects were presented with a list of racial and national groups with instructions to indicate whether they would admit each of these groups to various degrees of intimacy, from close kinship by marriage, the most intimate, to total rejection—exclusion from their country. The results of the Bogardus test of what he called "social distance" is given in the early part of the Katz and Braly article. In several later studies Bogardus included the names of purely fictional groups and, interestingly enough, these groups were usually rejected by people taking the test; unfamiliarity was apparently enough to arouse suspicion and hostility. Moreover, these patterns of social distance did not seem to vary greatly from group to group, or region to region. Northerners, southerners and west coast people seemed to have generally the same pattern. Nationality or racial groups, although they put their own group at the top, proceeded then to conform to the general pattern.

This, then, is a general measure of the stereotypes which most people in the society carry about with them. The Campbell survey goes a little deeper into the problem by measuring a single factor in the pattern of prejudice and trying to determine more exactly what prejudice means in terms of attitude and personality.

The report on the Peoria Street disorders presents a detailed description of an example of the eruption of such attitudes in social action. The test of the validity of what the class has read and discussed so far is whether our understanding of a specific social event, such as a race riot, is increased. The report, therefore, should be used as an analytical exercise to test understanding.

Reading Notes

(Katz and Braly)

1. How did the investigator obtain a preferential ranking of ethnic groups?

   On this ranking, which were some of the high groups, which some of the low groups?

2. How was agreement on characteristics attributed to these groups obtained?

3. What was the purpose of asking a separate group of students to rate the 84 traits on the basis of their desirability?

(Campbell)

1. Which factors investigated by Campbell did he conclude were related to prejudice against Jews?

2. Which factors seemed not to be related?

3. What factor does Campbell think is the most important one related to anti-Semitism? Does the time at which the study was done (1942) suggest a different interpretation than the one Campbell gives?

4. Analyze the interview on p. 609 by underlining illustrations of:

   Allport's types of Scapegoaters:

   Dollard's theory of frustration and aggression:

   Verbal stereotyping:

Problems for Discussion

I

Katz and Braly's data indicate that despite regional and background differences there is a general pattern of feelings of social distance in the United States. In some cases the origin of the pattern can be seen. For instance, Carey McWilliams has pointed out that before 1870 there was very little anti-Semitism in this country. It began after the Civil War with attempts to keep Jews out of swanky country clubs and other places reserved for those of wealth and position.

1. What might have been the reason for the original discrimination?
2. How could such a pattern come to be widely accepted?
3. What historical forces of the time (1870-1900) as you recall them, might have had something to do with it?

II

The Peoria Street disorders demonstrate most of the elements involved in race riots generally.

1. Which of Allport's scapegoating motives can be identified in the actions of the Peoria Street residents?
2. What does his discussion of the sources of race prejudice show about the participation of the teen-agers in the rioting?
3. What explanations can be offered for:
   - the behavior of the authorities?
   - the fact that the mob attacked neither the neighboring Negro district nor the Jewish shopkeepers?
   - the shift in hostility from anti-Negro to anti-Semitic to anti-collegiate feeling?
   - the role of the agitators?

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, CHICAGO DIVISION
REPORT ON PEORIA STREET DISORDERS

Anti-Negro and Anti-Semitic Violence on the South Side

On October 15th, 1949, Mr. Aaron Bindman, secretary-treasurer of Local 208, Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union, CIO, moved into the house at 5643 South Peoria Street on Chicago's South Side. On Tuesday evening, November 8th, he held a meeting in his apartment to which several members of his union, including Negroes, were invited, to listen to a Hawaiian union delegate to the recent CIO convention. From this simple and harmless occasion developed the most violent outbreak of anti-Negro, anti-Semitic feeling in the recent history of Chicago.

Background

The neighborhood around 56th and Peoria has been known for some years as one of the most dangerous spots, potentially, in the human relations field in the city. The population is traditionally Irish. For many years there has been increasing fear of the time when Negroes would move from the near-by area into the neighborhood, long considered "pure white."

The week before Mr. Bindman's party a home in the area had been purchased by a Negro family, and all the neighborhood resources were brought into play in an effort on the part of the white people to buy back this house. This incident had aroused the neighborhood and feelings had not yet subsided on the night that Negro friends came to visit at 5643 South Peoria Street.

Tuesday Night – The Power of a Rumor

The people of the neighborhood did not know what was going on at the Bindmans. Someone saw Negroes enter the house and not come out. In the minds of the aroused neighbors this meant one thing, the thing they dreaded—the house was being shown to a Negro—another house was going to be sold to a "nigger." As the rumor spread through the neighborhood, people gathered on the front steps and porches up and down Peoria Street. For many years there had been talk of what would have to be done when this situation arose, but no one seemed ready to act. About ten-thirty o'clock that night someone went to get the block captain—he would know what to do. The block captain and another man went to have a talk with Mr. Bindman. They were informed as to the real occasion of the Negroes' presence in the apartment. The block captain's insistence that the guests leave the neighborhood was resented by Mr. Bindman, and the police were called. Two policemen were sent from Englewood Station. A crowd of 50 to 60 people gathered and remained, and there was no attempt at dispersal. Remarks like "If you want to live here you'd better get those niggers out," "God damn you, get those people out of there or we'll tear the place down," and threats of burning the building down, were shouted. The Negro guests were escorted out of the area by the police. No overt violence resulted that night though there were people on the street until early morning.

Wednesday Night — Old Hates are Adjusted to New Scapegoats

The following evening people again gathered in front of the Bindman house. At 8:30 P.M., four patrolmen and a Sergeant were posted in front of the house, facing about 75 people on the opposite side of the street. A few of the better dressed persons in the crowd were seen attempting to get others to go home. By 9:30, the crowd had swelled to approximately 200. Some agitators were present, teen-agers were numerous, and loud angry anti-Negro shouting was prevalent. About this time stones began to fly sporadically, but no windows were broken. The crowd cheered as the stones hit the house. Still no one was arrested and no attempt was made to disperse the crowd. About 10:30, four policemen from the district and six from outside the area were added, making a total of about fifteen policemen.

By Wednesday night the talk in the crowd was turning more and more to anti-Semitism (Mr. Bindman is Jewish) and the party of the previous evening was being characterized as a Communist meeting. Some people were passing on the words they attributed to Monseigneur Burns of parish (Visitation Parish) to the effect that he would buy any piece of property in the neighborhood before he would allow a Negro to move in. Also going the rounds were rumors that Mayor Kennelly had promised various people, including real estate men, that as far as he was concerned Negroes moving into white neighborhoods "were on their own."

The presence of "outsiders," particularly students from the University of Chicago, drawn by curiosity or because of their distaste for the injustice they had heard was being committed, began to infuriate the mob. The presence of outsiders seemed to substantiate the belief of many of the local people that this whole business was a "Communist Plot" directed at their community.

Thursday — Matters Grow Worse While Officialdom Watches

Beginning Thursday numerous civic groups, including the ACLU, began working in a co-operative effort with the Commission on Human Relations in an attempt to bring the situation under control. They found the Mayor and the Police Commissioner cool even to receiving them, to say nothing of accepting their suggestions. An effort was made, with some success, to get certain State and American Legion officials to try to influence the City Administration. Assurances were given, but the situation grew steadily worse.

The observations of an ACLU attorney give a clear picture of the activities on Thursday night. At the time of his arrival, about 7:50 P.M., there were three policemen and a Sergeant before the house facing a crowd estimated at two hundred. A number of persons were obviously agitating the crowd to action. The police were exchanging small talk with some members of the crowd. (It should be remembered that many policemen at the Englewood Station live in this area and were facing their neighbors and friends.)

When the agitators succeeded in getting the crowd to start moving in on the house, the ACLU attorney started down the street to call for police reinforcements. He met the Sergeant and convinced him that he should call for help. Soon five squad cars from various

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details (none carrying crews trained in dealing with such situations) arrived. The crowd was then held in check before the house. The leading agitator was taken into custody and placed in a police car where he proceeded for over ten minutes to harangue the crowd with no interference from the police. By ten o'clock the crowd had doubled, there was still inadequate police protection and still the police made no effort to disperse the crowd.

The talk of the crowd was primarily anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and to some extent anti-Communist, earlier in the evening. Later, the talk was almost totally anti-Semitic with growing emphasis on "University of Chicago Yid Communists."

By 11 o'clock some thirty policemen were on duty but made no attempt to move the crowd, in spite of the fact that now rocks were being thrown at the house. Between 11 P.M. and 12 midnight, the focus of the crowd seemed to turn inward, searching out any persons who seemed to be strangers in the neighborhood, with particular emphasis on persons who were thought to look Jewish. The ACLU attorney and his wife felt that they were being singled out, and started to move toward their car, about two blocks away. They were followed by a hostile group but were not harmed physically.

Thursday night, mob action went into operation. "Outsiders" were assumed to be "Jewish Communists from the University of Chicago." At first some effort at identification was made by roaming bands composed largely of youths. "What parish are you from?" was one means of spotting victims. Some were able to escape after a chase; others were brutally set upon and beaten.

Four hundred people gathered to demonstrate and violence spread through the neighborhood; yet no significant attempt was made to disperse the crowd. Liaison between the police and the Commission on Human Relations and co-operating civic organizations broke down almost completely at this point. The police department had not been overly receptive to co-operation with the Commission or the civic groups on these outbreaks of violence, but by late Thursday night relations could hardly have been worse. With communication cut off and antagonism expressed by the police, information available was meager.

Friday Night – The Hunt is On – Open Season for Hate

It has been estimated that 400 policemen were on duty Friday and Saturday nights. It was too late. Gangs of young hoodlums ran through the streets of the neighborhood searching out victims as they shouted their anti-Semitic filth. Emotions had erupted over the presence of Negroes, but although Negroes live in an area immediately adjacent to the neighborhood, the only known attack upon Negroes was upon four boys set upon as they attempted to board a street car at 57th and Halsted. Three ran and escaped, but one was beaten badly.

Numerous attacks on persons fitting the prevailing idea of scapegoat were reported. The scapegoat was the "outsider" to whom were attributed the "characteristics" of "Jewish-Communist-University of Chicago people." Interestingly, no violence turned upon Jewish merchants who did business nearby on Halsted Street. In some instances people were severely injured. As one witness testified, "I saw him coming down the street, sometimes running, sometimes crawling, with the crowd behind him and upon him, his face all covered with blood."

As midnight approached, Police Emergency Plan #3 was put in effect, calling for about 15 cars of police. Shortly afterward orders were given to institute Emergency Plan #5 (called the disaster plan) which called for all the reserves available in that section of the city. Assaults and broken windows now led to the crowd being moved back across the street from the Bindman house.

There is no doubt about the fact that many of the persons attacked were students from the University of Chicago, attracted by the occasion. There would seem little doubt that it would have been better had they known and heeded the advice of the Commission on Human Relations and of the co-operating civic groups, that people not flock into the area of violence. But others were attacked too.

The attitude of the police, who were observed in some instances sympathizing with members of the crowd, seems to have been that outsiders did not belong in the area, and in consequence many victims as well as hoodlums were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Generally speaking, victims were released on higher bond than were the hoodlums arrested. One person arrested claims that he knew nothing of what was happening but was attracted by the crowd as he drove past. He parked his car and approached a group of people with a question as to what was going on. He states that someone asked him his name, and when he gave it (a Jewish name) the next thing he knew he was on the ground being stamped upon. Another man parked a Jeep station-wagon with an Ohio license near 56th and Halsted and later was a victim of assault, and his car was turned upside-down. He too was charged with disorderly conduct.

An insurance man, sent to an address in the area was not even allowed, by a group of hoodlums, to identify himself. He was Jewish and he was beaten up and later arrested. He has identified his assailant.

In all there were 10 arrests on Friday night, including victims. Mobs roamed the streets until four o'clock in the morning.

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Intergroup Relations: Combatting Prejudice

Reading: Deutsch and Collins, "The Effect of Public Policy in Housing Projects upon Interracial Attitudes," Reading, p. 582.
U. S. War Dept., "Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies of Seven Divisions," Readings, p. 502.
Allport, ABC's of Scapegoating, pp. 51-56.
Whitman, How Old is a Bigot?
Citron and Harding, Answering the Bigot.
Commission on Community Relations, Objection Sustained.

Allport's last chapter mentions four different ways in which prejudice can be attacked. Of these four the readings contain examples of two, and this class is an experience of the third kind.

1. Education for insight is, of course, what is going on in these units on intergroup relations. The experimental evidence of the results of this kind of education is very cloudy and often contradictory. You can find an account of much of it in A. Rose's Studies in the Reduction of Prejudice, and you can examine your own reactions to the class sessions we have had. Have you gained any insight into the mechanism of prejudice which you feel might lead you to question your own responses in certain situations? Generally speaking, much of the education for tolerance, the lectures, the film showings, etc., are one-shot affairs and often do not show significant results for individual attempts. Perhaps engaging in such educational efforts consistently leads to the establishment of a climate of opinion which is valuable.

2. Education for understanding is dealt with in the material on the effects of equal-status contacts between different groups, as described in the first two studies listed. A general caution is needed here: a number of similar studies have shown that the situations in which contact has an effect on prejudice must have certain elements in them. Some of these elements are stressed at

the end of the Deutsch and Collins study.

3. Changing conditions as an attack on prejudice is illustrated here only negatively in the action-research of the Commission on Community Relations, whose general point is that answering the bigot will not change his mind but will at least challenge the general climate of acquiescence to such remarks. If enough people are prepared to challenge bigoted remarks made in public the condition of public acceptance of prejudice may be broken down.

4. Legal methods of combatting prejudice are not illustrated, except insofar as the Deutsch and Collins study was of a situation in which non-segregation was enforced as a condition under which people managed to get a certain kind of housing. The clearest argument for the use of the law is probably Carey McWilliams' article "Race Discrimination and the Law" which some libraries may have in pamphlet form.

Reading Notes

1. What differences were there between the two kinds of housing projects in kinds of contacts between Negro and White housewives?

2. What differences were there in the attitudes of the White housewives toward Negroes generally?

3. What conditions do the writers place on the assertion that contacts with the objects of prejudice will reduce prejudice?

Infantry Study

If you were responsible for deciding what action to take regarding segregation in the armed forces, which conclusions of the War Department report would be of help?

What further information would have to be sought before a decision could be made?

Problems for Discussion

I

Some people in the field of intergroup relations believe in the theory of the fait accompli; that is, instead of waiting for people to become more tolerant they want situations of discrimination to be radically changed immediately. For example, they point out that many people if asked in advance say that they would not like to be served by a Negro clerk in a department store; however, if the store goes ahead and hires Negroes, very few customers even notice the change.

1. What evidence in the War Department report supports the fait accompli theory?
2. Does the Deutsch and Collins study support it? How?
3. What arguments are commonly brought against it?
4. How valid are these arguments?

II

Some people argue that prejudice is not a community problem, but a problem of personal morality.

1. In what sense are they right, and in what sense wrong?
2. What responsibilities should a community have to reduce intergroup prejudice within it?
3. What are some of the ways you would advocate its doing something about it?

III

On the basis of the material on incident control, imagine that you are a bystander in the following scenes and prepare an answer to the bigot in each of them.

Scene I:

Setting:	A crowded bus.
Driver: (tired and bored)	Seventh Avenue! Step to the back of the bus. Let 'em on. Plenty of room in the back. Watch your step.

(A passenger works his way toward the exit door.)

Passenger: Out please, out! I'm trying to get off. (He squirms way through and pushes against Jones and gets off.)

Jones: (Nasty tone) (Glares at passenger's back). Hey, quit your pushing. Do you think you own the bus?
(Turns to people around, sneers)
Isn't that just like a Jew, always shoving. They think they own these buses. Who do they think they are anyway? (His eyes sweep the faces of passengers near in attempt to enlist sympathy).

* * * * * * *

Scene II:

Setting: A crowded waiting room. Eight chairs are lined up. People are sitting, reading magazines, etc. Mr. Colletti and Mr. Jones are seated next to each other, in the center of the line-up of chairs.

Receptionist: (Enters the room and looks around) Who is next?

Mr. Jones and Mr. Colletti: (Stand up simultaneously and exclaim) I am.

(Colletti happens to be standing nearer to receptionist than Jones.)

Receptionist: (Apparently inefficient and tired sounding) Well, er, I don't know for sure who is next. Suppose this gentleman (pointing to Mr. Colletti) comes in now and you will be next. Your name, please?

Mr. Colletti: Colletti, Anthony Colletti.

Receptionist: This way, please, Mr. Colletti. (Both exit)

Mr. Jones: (Turns to resume seat and speaks so that the others cannot help hearing.) (nasty tone) He was next, huh? Colletti, hmmph. Another wop who can't wait his turn. These dagos are all alike. Who do they think they are, anyway? (Mutters a few indistinguishable words.)
(Others stop reading and look at Jones.)

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Some Problems of the Larger Social Group

UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Social and Economic Class

Readings: Davis, Gardner and Gardner, "The Class System of the White Caste," *Readings*, p. 280.
Centers, "The American Class Structure," *Readings*, p. 299.

The whole question of "class" has been one which has divided social scientists for many years. The popular "folk" view of American society has always assumed that it is classless, that "everybody in this great and glorious land is equal" as the usual Fourth of July orator puts it. The cynicism of the French writer who remarked that "the law, with majestic impartiality, forbids the rich as well as the poor from sleeping on park benches" has its echoes in American thinking as well. More people, probably, *behave* as the cynic sees them, than as the orator does, and any relatively objective look at American society reveals a number of different strata. The problem has been to define the *significant* ways in which groups making up the society differ from one another.

This was an easy task in societies which provided very rigid class slots into which people could be put, or put themselves, by the simple fact of birth. Speaking very generally, for instance, in England of the 18th century one could be born into the nobility, the landed gentry, or the working class (either the rural poor or the urban poor). In any of these three cases people acted toward you, or you acted toward people in very definite ways, and the expectations of people about what they were going to do in life generally operated within a narrow range of possibilities. One of the worst things that could happen to a person was to be unaccepted by any of these classes, to be "de-classed"; he would have no way of orienting his behavior.

In American society and to some extent in 19th and 20th century western Europe such definitions of social class do not operate and the differences between groups are blurred and often shifting.

Sociologists have tested a number of assumptions as the basis for defining class: income, standard of living, occupation, relation to the means of production and others, without reaching much agreement. There are some rough and ready rules of thumb; research agencies doing market and radio audience research, for instance, require their interviewers to decide the general income level of their respondents, or the class level, by judging on the basis of the house they live in, or some such criterion.

The psychological aspect of this problem has revolved about whether individual behavior and attitudes reflect social and economic differences which the sociologists have broadly defined. The readings for this unit illustrate two different ways of dealing with the problem.

The Davis article represents an anthropological approach to the study of class differences in a southern community. The researchers lived in the culture as "participant-observers" (as Whyte did in Street Corner Society) and attempted to get at the meaningful pattern of peoples' behavior.

Centers' study set out with a very definite question, on the other hand. Do people see themselves as part of a class structure, he wanted to know, and if so, do their political beliefs relate to their economic interest? One aspect of this study has a very interesting background. Several years before Fortune had done a survey in which it found that 80% of Americans see themselves as members of the middle class, a finding which surprised many social scientists. As Centers points out, this result was partly due to the way the question was asked; when given a choice between "middle class" and "lower class," people tended to place themselves in the former group. When Centers substituted "working class" for "lower class" the results fall into a very different pattern, as you will see from the study.

Reading Notes

1. What evidence does Centers offer to show that peoples' political beliefs are associated with their economic role?

2. Which general occupational levels identified themselves with the middle class?

   Which with the working class?

3. In terms of group beliefs and attitudes, which is more important, a person's occupation or his class identification?

   What does this mean for what Centers calls "an economic interest group theory"?

4. Formulate, in your own words, a statement of such a theory, which takes into account Centers' major conclusions.

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Problems for Discussion

I

Centers found that the working class groups are the least conservative, but that they also included the largest group of indeterminates.

1. What may account for the fact that inner conflict appears particularly strongly in the working class?
2. What is likely to happen to the "indeterminates" during a depression? Does it?
3. During a boom?

II

Despite the fact that white collar employees often earn less money and work under worse conditions than many manual workers, labor union organization in the white collar and professional fields has seldom been successful in this country.

1. How would Centers explain this resistance to unionization?
2. How would Davis explain it?
3. On the basis of the experience of those class members who are white collar workers, which of these approaches seems more valid?

III

Select a small community with which you are fairly familiar and note how the socio-economic membership of various groups helps to determine:

where people live,
where they work,
how they vote,
their social activities,
their religious affiliations.

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UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR

Behavior in Extreme Situations

Reading: Cantril, "The Invasion from Mars," Readings, p. 198.
Bettelheim, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," Readings, p. 33.

Vocabulary:

introcepted, made a part of one's internal value system.

In most of the situations studied in this course the groups discussed have tended to hold together rather than fall apart, and they hold together by feelings which depend on natural relationships in everyday life. The family, the working group, the community are cohesive, more or less, because they are part of the fabric of the society. Even less cohesive groupings studied, social classes for example, exhibit a certain amount of cohesiveness due to the recognition of common economic interests, or social status. Again, this is, in our society, part of the accepted framework. The course, therefore, might be said to have focussed on the "normal" influence of group life on individual behavior.

This unit turns from such examples to consider what might be called pathological aspects of social life, and deals with two very different manifestations of pathology: panic, and deliberate terrorization. In each case, but for different reasons, the social cohesiveness which provides bench marks to guide perception and action is lacking.

There are many fascinating problems which can be illuminated somewhat by the readings for this unit, but the most important one of them probably has to do with the conditions in our own society which Lasswell has called "the trend toward the garrison state." Against the ultimate success of this trend many people cite their faith in the ability of democracy to survive anything, a faith which the cynics call "the democratic mystique." It is a faith that whatever happens "the people" will win; no matter what wars, tyranny or mass deceit can accomplish, democracy will survive. Lincoln said it tersely in his "you can fool some of the people all of the time . . ." remark. Carl Sandburg wrote a book-length poem, The People, Yes, reaffirming this belief.

The question which this unit might well cause you to consider is, how much basis for such a faith is there in the light of these data? What, in general, do the materials of the course as a whole indicate about it?

Reading Notes

Cantril

1. How does Cantril account for the unusual power of this particular broadcast?
2. What four conditions leading to suggestibility does he outline?
3. How does he account for the extreme behavior of those people who believed the broadcast was true?

Bettelheim

1. How did the different kinds of prisoners respond to the situation?

   The political—

   The middle class—

   The upperclass—
2. What were the major differences between "new" prisoners and "old" prisoners?
3. Describe the final stage of adjustment to life in the camps.

Problems for Discussion

I

Recent students of society, in describing the change in the last few centuries from an essentially rural culture to an urban one, often refer to one aspect of urbanization as "normlessness."

1. How would you define such a term in light of the use of "norm" in this course?

2. In what way do those who were thrown into a panic by Welles' play illustrate normlessness?

3. Why is this a malady particularly of the urban rather than rural cultures?

II

The behavior which Bettelheim describes as typical of the adaptation of "old" prisoners resembles in some ways the typical behavior of members of minority groups which are the object of a pervasive discrimination.

1. Illustrate this with reference to some minority group in America.

2. What conclusions can be drawn as to the nature of human adaptation?

3. Of social discrimination?

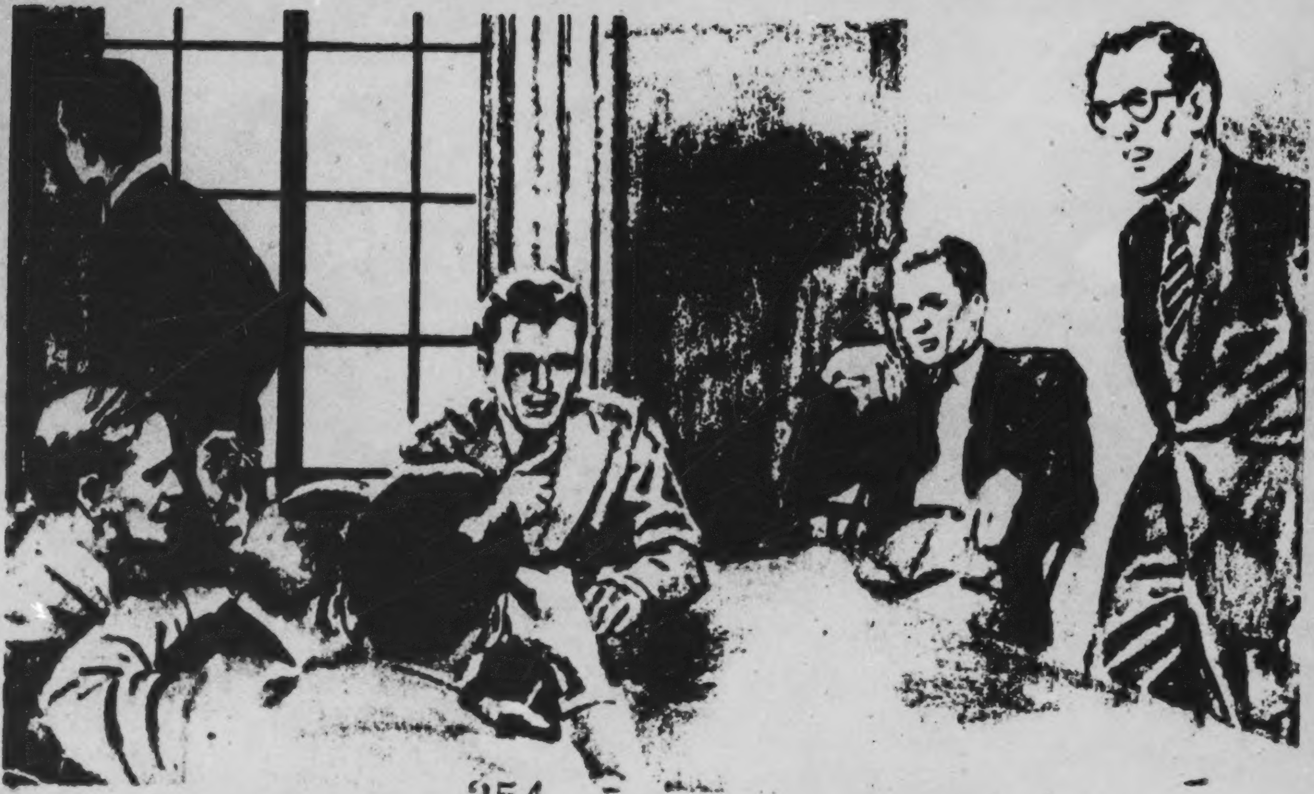
III

Since the war ended the United States has been in a situation of mounting tension. The continual strain of cold war politics, minor wars, fear of an atomic or hydrogen bomb war, expectations of depression, etc., have all contributed to this tension.

1. What may be safely predicted, in a general way, about peoples' behavior in situations in which events are ambiguous, or in which the unexpected and frightening happens?

2. Give examples of national or local events which prove or disprove this prediction.

APPENDIX



GROUP BEHAVIOR AND LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE*

Instructions

Each of us belongs to many kinds of groups, clubs, work gangs, organizations, societies, social groups, etc.

In answering the questions below, think of a group you belonged to in the recent past. You may choose almost any one of the groups you knew about. It should be one with which you have had fairly recent contact—within the last two or three years. It must be one in which you were not the leader.

Groups which last a long time change from time to time. In order to answer the questions you will have to talk about the group as if it didn't change. Take a certain day, week, or month during the time you have known the group and talk about it as it was then.

1. Were there small groups or cliques within the larger group?

Yes______ No______ Explain________________________________

____

2. How frequently did new members enter the group?______

____

3. How frequently did members leave the group?__________

____

4. What benefits or satisfactions did members get from belonging to the group?______________________________________

____

____

____

5. What did membership in the group mean to you at the time you are talking about?________________________________

____

____

6. In what way were you rewarded for effort you put out for the group?____

____

---

* Adapted from John K. Hemphill, Situational Factors in Leadership, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University.

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7. Were there members in the group that you wished were not there? Yes______ No______ Explain______________________

____

____

8. Did you ever want to get out of the group? Yes__________ No______ Explain______________________________________

____

____

9. How interested were the members of the group in keeping the group together as a group (at the time you are talking about)?

1 2 3 4 5

Extremely interested / Fairly interested / Not interested

10. How would you rate the morale of the group at the time?

1 2 3 4 5

High / Medium / Low

11. How badly would you have felt if you had let the group down?

1 2 3 4 5

Not bad at all / Fairly badly / Very badly

12. Sometimes people become so "involved" in a group that they rarely think of themselves at all. The group is all that matters. At other times or in other groups they become only midly "involved" thinking mainly of strictly individual matters. At the time you are talking about how deeply were you involved in the group?

1 2 3 4 5

Very deeply involved / Fairly deeply involved / Hardly involved at all

13. What was your general over-all impression of the quality of leadership shown by the leader?

1 2 3 4 5

Excellent / Good / Fair / Poor / Bad

14. What would you consider was the group's over-all impression of the quality of the leader?

1 2 3 4 5

Excellent / Good / Fair / Poor / Bad

Check List

During the time you were a member of the group you undoubtedly had opportunity to observe the behavior of the leader. Use the check list below to record your observations. Some of the items may not apply directly to the leader you are talking about. On other items you may feel that you have too little information to make a judgment. However, answer each item you possibly can.

Directions: A number of descriptions of the behavior are listed on the left side of the page. On the right side are several columns. Indicate your observations of the leader by making a check mark in one of the columns for each item. For example, the first item is, "He was lax with the group." If the leader was always "lax with the group" put a check in the first column—the ALWAYS column. But if the leader was never "lax with the group" put a check in the 5th column—the NEVER column. If the leader's behavior falls somewhere between these two extremes put a check in the FREQUENTLY, the OCCASIONALLY, or the SELDOM column.

If you think an item really does not apply to the leader in the situation you are talking about, put a check in the DOES NOT APPLY column or if you think you do not have enough information to make a fair judgment on the item check it in the DON'T KNOW column.

Be sure to check each item in ONE of the seven columns:

1. ALWAYS
2. FREQUENTLY
3. OCCASIONALLY
4. SELDOM
5. NEVER
6. DOESN'T APPLY
7. DON'T KNOW

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. He was lax with the group							
2. He passed the buck							
3. He knew exactly what to expect of each member							
4. He could put it into words							
5. He could be counted on in tough spots							
6. He co-ordinated the different jobs							
7. He was very interested in the group's success							
8. He worked harder and longer than other members							
9. He remembered it when a member did a good job							
10. He had the respect of his superiors							

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. He thought mostly of himself							
12. He realized his own abilities and limitations							
13. He informed members about things concerning them							
14. He was only concerned with his own record							
15. He couldn't be told anything							
16. He made his decisions quickly							
17. He made good decisions							
18. He had confidence in his decisions							
19. He allowed members to get the better of him							
20. He lacked foresight							
21. He flew off the handle							
22. He could get members to want to work							
23. He lost control of the group							
24. He listened to others							
25. He stuck to his word							
26. He had plenty of time to spend with the group							
27. He was friendly							
28. He ruled with an iron hand							
29. He made rules and regulations clear							
30. He explained why he did things							
31. He tried to do a good job							
32. He apparently enjoyed ruling the roost							
33. He put group activities before anything else							
34. He made other people enthusiastic							

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. He treated each member as an individual							
36. He made the group laugh							
37. He could make tactful criticism							
38. He allowed exceptions to the rules							
39. He demonstrated physical courage							
40. He demonstrated "moral" courage							
41. He stuck his neck out for the group							
42. He wisely delegated authority							
43. He was very proud of the group							
44. He broke rules he wouldn't let others break							
45. He seemed to like people in general							
46. He appreciated a good joke on himself							
47. He knew his job							
48. He joined the members in griping about things							
49. He believed in the group's purpose							
50. He did a good job of selling his ideas							
51. He was easy to talk to							
52. He lorded it over the members							
53. He preferred the company of his superiors							
54. He made good plans							
55. He was sort of "standoffish"							
56. He made subordinates feel inferior							
57. He could take it when the going was tough							
58. He could see both sides of a question							
59. He was willing to co-operate with others							

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60. He knew the technical details of the job							
61. He reversed decisions once made							
62. He took things too seriously							
63. He was an example of what every member should be							
64. He treated every member alike							
65. He boasted of his accomplishments							
66. He knew how to get things done							
67. He made decisions for the group, not for individuals							
68. He talked in a pleasing manner							
69. He was very well dressed							
70. He could give orders pleasantly							

PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE*

The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement as follows:

+1: slight support, agreement	-1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: Moderate support, agreement	-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: Strong support, agreement	-3: strong opposition, disagreement

___ 1. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.

___ 2. Negro musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands.

___ 3. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.

___ 4. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.

___ 5. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.

___ 6. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.

___ 7. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.

___ 8. Filipinos are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly and go around with white girls.

___ 9. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

___ 10. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for the Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults.

___ 11. The best guarantee of our national security is for America to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the secret of the atom bomb.

___ 12. Zootsuiters prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.

___ 13. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is

---

* Questionnaire developed by Daniel J. Levinson.

___ 14. There is something different and strange about Jews; it's hard to tell what they are thinking and planning, and what makes them tick.

___ 15. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

___ 16. Now that a new world organization is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.

___ 17. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.

___ 18. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.

___ 19. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

___ 20. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

HOSTILITY QUESTIONNAIRE

These first questions refer to the person who did the insulting. (Use legend below.)

Legend

1. Not at all
2. Slightly
3. A little
4. Moderately
5. Quite a bit
6. Very much
7. As much as possible in this situation

1. To what degree do you dislike him? ______
2. To what extent do you feel annoyed with him? ______
3. To what extent do you feel angry with him? ______
4. To what extent do you feel peeved with him? ______
5. If he was at your mercy right now what would you like to do to him?

6. If he worked for you, and you accidentally witnessed what you have seen, what would you do?
   - (   ) Nothing at all.
   - (   ) Mild critism.
   - (   ) Stronger criticism.
   - (   ) Some of his own medicine.
   - (   ) Suspend him.
   - (   ) Fire him.
7. Describe the kind of person that you think he is.

Now with reference to the fellow who was insulted. (Use the above legend again.)

1. To what extent did you feel that you were "in the boots" of him? ______
2. When he was being insulted, did you feel insulted? ______

COMMUNITY CASES

I

Anthracite coal mining in Eastern Pennsylvania was a "sick industry" even before the depression. In the 1930's still more mines shut down, the companies deciding to keep their coal in the ground until prices for it should go up. There was great unemployment and distress among the miners. In these years the unemployed miners began going into the idle mines and taking out the coal. They did this without the permission of the companies which own the mines, and without the interference of the local police, so that no violence resulted. They have both burned the coal themselves and sold it.

Question: What do you think of this sort of action on the part of the unemployed miners?

Ansers:
0. I approve.
1. I think it may have been all right if they were really in distress, but I'm doubtful about it.
2. I can't decide.
3. I suppose it's wrong, but I must qualify my feeling. For example, I think it wrong for them to sell the coal, but not if they merely burn it to keep warm.
4. I disapprove and cannot let my sympathies interfere.

II

During good times a farmer in the Middle West borrowed a considerable sum of money from a big Chicago bank, and gave a mortgage on his farm as security. When the depression came he could no longer meet the payments on this loan, and the bank, after waiting a reasonable time, foreclosed. They started legal proceedings and the local sheriff advertised a foreclosure sale. But on the day of the advertised sale, the neighboring farmers gathered on the property to be sold at auction, and acted in such a threatening way that no genuine bid could be made. The farmer himself bid one dollar, and since this was the highest bid, he bought his farm back for this amount, which was all the bank got in place of the mortgage. The mortgage was lifted and the farmer remained in possession instead of being driven off the land.

Question: What do you think of the action of the neighbors?

Answers:
0. I approve.
1. I approve, but with qualifications.
2. I cannot decide.
3. I disapprove, but with qualifications.
4. I disapprove.

III

In 1937 there was a sitdown strike against the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation, in North Chicago. After warning the workers who had occupied the plant, and ordering them to leave, police and deputies threw tear-gas bombs into the building. This succeeded in dislodging the strikers. Tear-gas, as you know, is unpleasant, but not fatal in its effect.

Question: What do you think of the action of the local authorities, such as the chief of police, in ordering that tear-gas be used?

Answers:
0. I disapprove.
1. I disapprove, but with qualifications.
2. I cannot decide.
3. I approve, but with qualifications.
4. I approve.

(From Jones, Life, Liberty, and Property).

education for public responsibility

A Statement by the
Directors of the
Fund For Adult Education

the fund for adult education

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foreword

The Fund for Adult Education, an independent organization established in 1951 by The Ford Foundation, was assigned as its concern "that part of the educational process which begins when formal schooling is finished." The Directors of the Fund defined its special task as "that of supporting programs of liberal adult education which will contribute to the development of mature, wise and responsible citizens who can participate intelligently in a free society."

During the past year the Directors concluded that special efforts should be made to improve and expand educational opportunities for our public leaders, particularly those younger men and women who are emerging as future leaders. Fifty outstanding persons in various fields of thought and activity were consulted. Eighteen of these were brought together on September 8 and 9 to review a proposed analysis and approach.

Guided by their comments, the Directors then prepared and issued a statement inquiring into the ways by which the American people can increase and make better educational opportunities for leaders, particularly emerging leaders, to improve in and prepare for their public responsibilities.

After the Fund had received endorsements for its plan from President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, Mr. Harry S. Truman, and Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson it sent its statement to more than 125 national leaders in various fields—requesting their reflections, recommendations and suggestions.

On the basis of their replies and further planning, the Directors of The Fund for Adult Education now make the following statement to the American people.

education for public responsibility

This statement is an expression of concern and a proposal for action.

The concern is that we, the people of the United States of America, must better fulfill our duties to ourselves, to our nation, and to the world in order to be equal to the responsibilities which are ours.

The proposal is that we increase opportunities for our mature citizens to prepare themselves through systematic education for their responsibilities as citizens of the 20th Century.

• • •

The Concern

Man now faces opportunities never known before. When he copes with certain massive social problems such as over-population and war, he can realistically envision everybody with decent diet, clothing and shelter; he can hopefully provide everybody the opportunities for medical care and education. He can think of reaching toward the stars — figuratively and literally.

This same man faces challenges never known before. There is an ever-present danger of a nuclear war, destroying the conditions of civilized living, even distorting the genetical inheritance of the human race. With or without war, there is danger of a grim tyranny over all mankind.

If man is to make use of his opportunities and meet his challenges, he must match his expanding knowledge and increasing control of physical nature with expanding self-knowledge and increasing self-control. Those who believe that this can be done only through human freedom are called upon not only to do the best they know how, but also to find and develop new resources of will, courage and wisdom.

Belief in human freedom is belief in the capacities of the individual: his moral abilities voluntarily to respect restraints and assume obligations; his rational abilities to understand alternatives and to choose wisely; his personal initiative and social co-operation to take part and to share in self-government. Belief in the capacities of the individual is belief in the power of education.

* * *

The free society of the United States gives wide scope for freedom to all its people.

> Our society embraces many philosophies and religions. We have a decentralized and diversified system of education. We have a privately operated system of information and opinion.
>
> All citizens share in the rights and duties of political self-government. We have choices of political parties and candidates, and we ourselves can join these parties and seek office.
>
> All citizens share in the rights and duties of our economic system based upon free choice. We have choices in our work and in the use of our property.
>
> We have opportunity, through active participation in many non-governmental organizations, to set and to strive to realize great social goals.

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All these opportunities dictate responsibilities equally great.

And these responsibilities – the vital requirements of freedom itself – are continually growing in size and complexity. Citizens today are called to make judgments on an ever-broader range of issues.

> For example, we must realize continual economic growth, yet maintain workable stability. We must be concerned with our domestic economy and at the same time have a regard for the economies of other free nations.
>
> We must make proper use of expert knowledge, yet preserve control by the people.
>
> We must give freedom of opportunity for exceptional talents, yet provide equality of basic opportunities for all.
>
> We must develop more effective cooperative action while enhancing individuality.
>
> We must maintain great military strength without becoming militaristic.

On the world scene, the future of the American people and the future of all other peoples are intimately involved one with another. The United States has become the leader of the free peoples of the world and the hope of those who want to be free. Therefore, a high order of public responsibility would be required of us even if the Soviet Union and its satellite nations were not bidding to rule the world. But they *are* seeking world domination. They threaten and challenge all peoples who are free or who would be free.

While their obvious threat is physical, their more subtle challenge is in the realms of beliefs and values. They challenge our fundamental conviction

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that free people can govern themselves. While always ready to use their military might, they patiently wait – expecting free societies to fail the long harsh test of moral purpose, political will and social wisdom.

The capabilities of the Soviet society rest squarely upon Soviet education. Soviet achievements in industry, agriculture, technology, science, diplomacy, propaganda, warfare and many other fields attest the effectiveness of this Soviet resolve to make education a disciplined instrument of national purpose.

* * *

This danger gives an urgency to our meeting the requirements which are inherent in freedom. Our education – dedicated to freedom – must be as purposeful and as effective as communist education for servitude.

Yet clearly our education cannot be imitative. As our principles and purposes are profoundly different, so, too, must be our practices. Their system calls for uncritical acceptance; ours seeks reasoned conviction. Theirs aims at conditioned response; ours seeks voluntary action. Theirs rests on compelled service; ours progresses through individual initiative.

If tyranny is to work, men must be tutored in totalitarianism. If freedom is to work, education enabling individuals to develop their greatest potentialities – and inspiring them freely to serve the welfare of their society – is indispensable.

We must educate more effectively. This is the judgment of hundreds of thoughtful men and women whom the Fund has consulted.

This judgment is borne out by many surveys and studies which demonstrate serious deficiencies with respect to skills, knowledge, attitudes and motivations. Many of our people are not able to read, write, listen or speak effectively. Many have no realistic understanding of what our way of life is and how it works – politically, economically and socially. Many know little about the cultures, the languages, the religions, the institutions and the ways of other peoples. Many are ignorant of basic facts, forces and ideas of the modern world, such as geographical relationships, population trends, nationalism, democracy, science and technology, and global interdependence. Many put low value upon participation in public affairs, particularly political affairs. Many feel no motivation to take responsible part in public affairs, particularly political affairs. And, affecting all of this, many have no appreciation of the connection between the goals of education and the goals of our civilization or of the need to continue their own education throughout life.

Recommendations

Those consulted by the Fund viewed education for public responsibility from many angles and made many suggestions. However different their interests or emphases, there was clear agreement that education for responsible freedom is a process which should begin with birth and end only with death, and should be continuously and conscientiously served by many institutions, organizations and agencies in addition to formal schools.

We should improve the education of people before they become adults.

A person lives his most formative years before he starts to school, and while he is in school, many other influences – some more powerful than the schools – surround him. Parents should pay primary attention to the home as the most important of all educational institutions, and should not relinquish its basic roles to the schools. Adults should seek in all other ways – through churches, youth organizations, community agencies, voluntary organizations, businesses, labor unions, local government, books, magazines and newspapers, radio, television and films, etc. – to make these influences educative for good. They should do so not only for the sake of young people, but also for the sake of their own continuing education as responsible adults.

The American people should vastly increase the financial support of schools, colleges and universities. We must pay our teachers and educators much more. We can afford to do so. We cannot afford not to do so. And, while more money is necessary, money alone is not enough. We need to understand the goals and the issues of education better, and give more honor to our teachers and our educators.

The principal educational task of schools, colleges and universities is to discipline and enlighten the minds of its students -- to teach them how to think; to communicate; to analyze, to criticize, to judge, to decide; to be familiar with basic facts and ideas; to cultivate their curiosity and to release their powers of creativity; to have them *learn to learn*. This tremendous task leaves no room or time for the irrelevant, the trivial or the merely indulgent.

The best grounding in all formal schooling at all levels, both for special tasks and for general responsibilities, is a broad education in which the social, biological and physical sciences, mathematics, the humanities and the arts are learned in concert and in their relationships.

Primary and secondary schools must give general education, so that they can fulfill their private and public responsibilities, to the two-thirds who end their formal schooling with or before high school, and must also prepare the one-third who go on to colleges and universities.

Higher education should be regarded as a privilege to be won – neither granted to those who do not earn it by ability and motivation, nor denied to those who do. Higher education must prepare young men and women for exceptional responsibilities, both in their work and in their citizenship.

Formal schooling at all levels should educate better with respect to an understanding of our free society and how it operates; with respect to the facts and relationships of the modern interdependent world; with respect to the languages, ways, institutions and goals of other peoples. And higher education should put strong stress upon motivating and preparing for public leadership.

These requirements may seem like a fanciful formula for perfection. On the contrary, they prescribe most realistically the requisites for a free society: common wisdom and uncommon abilities among all people, so that each person may play many roles with competence and at least one role with distinction. These educational goals are impossible of achievement unless formal schooling, even through the college or university, is regarded only as preparation for an education to continue throughout life.

We should improve the opportunities for all people to continue their liberal education after they become adults.

An important change is coming about in adult education. More and more people are participating in it, not to "catch up," but to keep up and to advance. This is true with respect to both specialized and general education.

In such fields as medicine, the law, education, the ministry, the armed forces and business, much of adult education is advanced education for the already highly educated. It is at the frontier of knowledge, in both theory and practice.

In increasing numbers men and women are also continuing their general or liberal education in order to broaden their specialties, or to fulfill their duties better, or to develop their capacities as individuals, or purely to enjoy the life of the mind.

Thus, much of adult education is becoming the real education of effective highly educated persons.

This trend should be strengthened, and The Fund for Adult Education will continue its efforts to do so. Opportunities for all adults to continue their liberal education should be expanded and improved so that they may perform effectively and responsibly all their major private and public roles.

One of their major private roles is as parents, who bring new human beings into life and who are the most important influences upon these new lives. Many parents have unwittingly abdicated their responsibilities for giving their children opportunities to realize sound values, emotional stability, and spiritual and intellectual growth. These responsibilities parents cannot assign to other institutions. If they are neglected, done poorly or done wrongly, the best that other institutions can hope to do is to repair. And parents cannot expect to *train* children as they would their household pets. To *educate* their children properly, they must educate *themselves* as well. Through continuing their own education parents can strive to make the family the best possible environment for the future parents and citizens of our society.

Another major role of mature persons occurs on the job. It is a private role, because it is the means whereby a person and his family can be self-supporting. It is also a public role, because thus we make our contributions to the goods and services of the society, and because all our decisions in our work have social consequences. These consequences always intimately affect those we work with. Even though jobs must be done, we are bound to consider always whether we are helping or hindering those we work with in the development of themselves as human beings. Sometimes these consequences are far-reaching, affecting large areas of the society, and perhaps the whole society. Adults should continue their liberal education in order to fill this role constructively and responsibly.

A third major role of the mature individual in our free society is as a citizen in the community – or, better, in communities, for we live in many at the same time: ranging from the neighborhood, through the city, state and nation to the world; and of various kinds, bound together by common concerns, ideas and purposes. As citizens, we are involved, not just in those activities we call political, but, more broadly, in all the social activities by which we conduct our affairs in the free society of the United States. Adults should continue their liberal education so that they can prove informed, thoughtful, purposeful and wise as citizens.

We should take into account far more seriously than we have done the critical role which the mass media – books, magazines, newspapers, radio, television and films – play in strengthening or weakening the intellectual fiber of our nation. The mass media, particularly radio and television, can encumber – or they can enlighten – education, across the entire span of life, from before the years of schooling, during formal schooling, and throughout the decades of adult life. These must be regarded as educative forces and used imaginatively and responsibly for enlightenment and understanding. Only through continuing education – both by those who operate these media

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for systematic study, through a variety of forms. And the activities in our thousands of communities and our millions of voluntary organizations give rich opportunities for learning through practical experience.

Particular attention should be given to younger men and women who, by their interests, aspirations and abilities, seem most likely to assume greater responsibilities in the future.

The Proposal

The Directors of The Fund for Adult Education, therefore, propose that varied and systematic opportunities be provided for the education of leaders and emerging leaders for their public responsibilities.

Although many organizations, agencies and institutions are now providing educational opportunities for their adult members and other adults, not enough are aimed directly to serve and equip our present-day and future leaders for their public responsibilities.

These responsibilities include both governmental and non-governmental roles. In government they range from membership on the school board to the appointive or elective positions in state, federal or international bodies. The non-governmental roles also range from local committees to world associations or societies.

The clientele for these educational programs should be: (1) those who now bear public responsibilities — in private or semi-public or public positions, in the local community or the state or the nation; and (2) those who by their accomplishments and promise seem likely to assume these responsibilities during the next five, ten or fifteen years.

The aims of the educational experiences should be to fit leaders to cope with questions of values, ends and means, and their appropriate relationships; to strengthen and sharpen their motivations to assume public responsibilities; to understand and deal effectively with questions of public ethics; to understand the nature and role of leadership in the American society; to understand the affairs of other peoples and America's relationships with them; to understand and be at home in social and governmental complexity; and to move effectively within the shifting boundaries that divide and relate private and public interests.

The educational experiences should be of two kinds: (1) systematic and sequential study of principles and issues, problems and situations in public affairs, ranging from the local community to the world; and (2) practical experience through participation in the affairs of the community, state and nation, and of voluntary organizations.

These educational opportunities should be provided both in educational institutions – universities, colleges and schools – and within the circles of various organizations.

They should be given the necessary support, including financial support, by educational institutions and agencies of many kinds, both public and private – governmental units, corporations, unions, organizations and associations. Unless agencies of all kinds provide encouragement and incentives and, where necessary, financial aid and "time off" to their members to take advantage of these educational opportunities, they will not be widely offered or used.

The Directors of The Fund for Adult Education are aware of the magnitude of the task that they propose be undertaken. It will require commitment, imagination, energy, money and time from many sources. It will be expensive. But its costs will be slight compared to the consequences if it is left undone, for this could mean the very undoing of our free way of life.

In a letter to the Fund about this project, President Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote: "I hope many social, cultural, educational and philanthropic agencies will join with the Fund in improving the opportunities of our people systematically to prepare and develop themselves wisely and well for public responsibility. Personally, I attach special importance to liberal education affecting present and potential leaders, men and women who, accurately informed and able to reason critically and creatively, may well serve as focal points of information and stimulation in all the communities of this free land."

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Because of the magnitude of the task, The Fund for Adult Education can hope only to give stimulation, encouragement and aid to this proposal. It must try "to manufacture yeast, not bread." As a start, the Fund will concentrate on four major activities:

1. Projects in cooperation with the mass media;
2. Work with educational institutions;
3. Work with national organizations; and
4. Fellowships.

1. *Projects in Cooperation with the Mass Media*

The purposes are to call attention to the need for education for public responsibility, to encourage fresh thinking about the nature of leadership in our society and how to prepare for it, to identify obstacles in the way of better leadership and activate efforts to re-education for public responsibility. Grants will be made to a few selected institutions for program development and promotion; grants for pilot projects will be made during 1960. In addition, the Fund will maintain a clearinghouse of information; will hold special institutes, conferences and workshops; and will make available expert consultants to advise on the development and promotion of programs.

About ten colleges and universities will be given financial aid to establish regional centers for training personnel engaged in projects in education for public responsibility.

3. *Work with National Organizations*

Similarly, upon request the Fund will send a brochure describing the kinds of aid and assistance it is able to provide national organizations undertaking to expand educational programs for public responsibility. Grants will be made to a few selected national organizations for program development and promotion; grants for pilot projects will be made during 1960. In addition, the Fund will maintain a clearinghouse of information; will hold special institutes, conferences and workshops; and will make available expert consultants to advise on the development and promotion of programs

Particular attention will be paid to special audiences, such as business, labor, agriculture, goverment, certain professions, etc. The Fund is already working with organizations concerned with these fields.

4. *Fellowships*

The Fund Fellowships in adult education

and in the mass media for 1960-61 will put special stress on education for public responsibility. Special training awards for persons in universities and organizations who are involved in education for public responsibility projects will be made in 1960.

Applications for both mass media and liberal adult fellowships should be received by October 15, 1959.

These are the beginning steps of what will be a larger and continuing program of activities.

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The Directors of The Fund for Adult Education appeal to the leaders of the United States to enlist the imagination and resources of their institutions, organizations and agencies in a vigorous national effort to improve and expand educational opportunities beyond those which are now available so that our people will be more responsibly free and more freely responsible.

The idea of freedom is rooted in the conviction that, as a spiritual creature, the individual is of supreme worth; as a moral creature, he is responsible for his actions; as a rational creature, he is capable of governing himself.

Our first necessity is to renew our faith in the fundamentals of freedom. Freedom has not been tried and found wanting. It has merely been tried and found difficult. Our task is not to make it easy, but to make it understood. It can be defended and preserved only in the way that it can be served and fulfilled – by the will and the wisdom of free men.

(Signed)
The Directors
The Fund for Adult Education

and by those who receive them – can this be done.

Most urgently, we should improve and expand educational opportunities for those who bear public responsibilities – our leaders, particularly those younger leaders who are emerging.

Leadership in our nation is an intricate and dynamic force. It operates throughout society. It operates both within and outside government. It summons service both professional and voluntary. It pervades and affects every sphere of our society: political and military, economic, social, cultural. A free society requires more leaders than other kinds of societies.

The preservation and improvement of free institutions demand that able people exercise public leadership and that they be well prepared for that leadership. Yet there is much evidence of the inadequate preparation of our public leaders, lay and career. Many persons who wish to give leadership in their community, state or nation do not know how to get started. Many leaders, even as they try, find that their education and experience have not equipped them for the service they wish to give. Leaders have few opportunities to prepare for greater effectiveness except those provided "on the job," through often unnecessary trial and sometimes calamitous error. Educational opportunities to help adults in vocations and to advance special interests are numerous and readily financed, but educational opportunities to help public leaders to understand and generally advance the common welfare are lacking or inadequate.

There is no single or simple pattern by which our leaders can prepare themselves for their public responsibilities. But both systematic study and practical experience are essential. Our schools, colleges and universities and our various organizations are capable of expanding and improving opportunities move them, to encourage the expansion and improvement of educational opportunities for leaders and emerging leaders, and to stimulate these to use their opportunities.

Several radio and television programs are being planned for 1959 and 1960. A radio series has been completed as a result of a grant to New York University; it consists of thirteen half-hour dramatizations of Alexis de Tocqueville's analysis of life in America. Other radio and television programs will deal with representative American figures and the American scene today.

Awards will be given in 1960 for the six best outlines for books on the nature of leadership in positions where executive decisions and actions have public consequences. Additional funds will be made available for writing the two or three best books outlined.

Awards will be given during 1959 and 1960 for the six best speeches or articles on leadership. These will be published in a volume and given wide circulation.

A series of lectures on education for public responsibility will be given under Fund auspices in various parts of the country by distinguished Americans during the coming years. These will be taped for radio and television, and will be published.

2. *Work with Schools, Colleges and Universities*

Upon request, the Fund will send a brochure describing the kinds of aid and assistance it is able to provide to schools, colleges and universities undertaking projects in